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Version: Version of Record

Link(s) to article on publisher's website:

<http://dx.doi.org/doi:10.21954/ou.ro.0000e80b>

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The Development of Gardening as a Leisure Activity in Nineteenth Century Britain and the Establishment of Horticultural Periodicals.

Thesis submitted for award of Ph.D.

Appropriate discipline: History.

Date of Submission: December 2002.

Author No: R0428751
Submission date: 13 December 2002
Award date: 24 July 2003

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The Development of Gardening as a Leisure Activity in Nineteenth Century Britain, and the Establishment of Horticultural Periodicals.

The thesis is in two parts. The first part looks at the reasons for the growth of gardening and how amateur gardening emerged as a separate concept. It explains the development of the nursery trade and the importance of florists' societies. It concludes that amateur gardening developed partly out of necessity when urban gardeners could not find suitable professional gardeners nor obtain appropriate advice, but also became a popular leisure pursuit related to natural history and the accumulation of 'consumer' products to enhance the home. Rural gardening in the form of cottage gardens and allotments, and the establishment of public parks and horticultural societies are also considered, as well as women and clergymen as amateur gardeners.

The second part of the thesis examines the development of horticultural periodicals. It explains how the earliest magazines were started for professional gardeners and florists to fulfil a need for topical information against the background of the existing publications of botanical magazines and horticultural manuals. Weekly horticultural papers began in the context of the explosion of popular publishing in the early part of the century. It is explained that several attempts were made to sell a paper to amateurs before the first successful amateur paper was established in the 1850s. It goes on to trace the development of the papers to the end of the century, by which time the market was dominated by weekly papers for amateurs. The lives and backgrounds of the major editors and writers are considered in order to explain their influence and the markets they were writing for.

The thesis includes a cross-referenced digest of the gardening magazines of the nineteenth century and their contributors, and forty-five pages of illustrations.

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Preface - acknowledgements.

I am particularly indebted to John Golby of the Open University for his help and encouragement from the beginning of my research and continued interest to the end. I am also very grateful to Bill Purdue for 'taking me on' after John's retirement, and I particularly value the extra dimensions he gave to my work.

Most of my research was done at the Lindley Library in its old premises and I am most grateful to all the staff for their detailed assistance in finding obscure books and papers and their constant interest and cheerfulness. I should also like to thank the staff of the Hackney Archives, who gave me useful suggestions at the beginning of my research, and especially Isobel Watson of the Friends of the Hackney Archives for her encouragement and help. Similarly, I am grateful to Julia Mathieson, a fellow O.U. researcher, who discussed interests we had in common and who passed on ideas for future research.

Working on a thesis in one's 'spare time' for about five years inevitably means inflicting ideas on anyone who is prepared to listen. In that context I would like to thank work colleagues Pushpa Pandya and Dominic Hap   for their tolerance. Finally, I owe great gratitude to my family, Richard, Isabelle and Florence Allfrey, for their understanding and belief that I would eventually produce something of value.

Some of the material in this thesis was previously published in *Hackney History* and *Garden History*, as follows:

'Shirley Hibberd: Stoke Newington's forgotten gardener', *Hackney History* (1998), p.13;

'Stoke Newington and 'the golden flower'', *Hackney History* (1999), p. 22;

'The Preternatural Gardener: the Life of James Shirley Hibberd (1825-90), *Garden History* (Winter 1998), p. 153.

Introduction.

At the beginning of the twenty-first century, gardening has apparently never been so popular. Television programmes, particularly of the 'makeover' type, try to persuade viewers that a garden is an integral part of a home and can be produced for modest expense and a reasonable amount of work, according to a formula laid down by experts. A look at any branch of W. H. Smith will find about a dozen different gardening magazines: some monthly (*Gardeners' World*, *Garden Answers*, *Your Garden*, *The English Garden*, *Homes and Gardens* and *House and Garden*), some bi-monthly (*Garden Ideas*, *Garden Inspirations*, *New Eden* and *Gardens Illustrated*), and one or two weekly (*Amateur Gardening*). There are also magazines featuring gardening as part of life in the countryside (*Country Life*, *Country Living*, *Country Illustrated* and *Heritage*) and publications of horticultural societies, such as *The Garden* published by the Royal Horticultural Society. Most daily and Sunday newspapers feature gardening every week. Gardening is open to, and indulged in by, all classes. Only personal finance and taste limit what one grows, how one grows it, and how much work one actually does oneself.

It seems to be assumed that a garden is part of the British¹ way of life, a birthright for everyone who wants it. Even the smallest house being built now has a patch of ground as a potential garden, even if it is never used as such. If the television programmes and magazines are to be believed, even flat dwellers are expected to carve gardens and terraces out of flat roofs and window ledges if they want their homes to be complete. But when did this idea of a right to garden arise? Did it coincide with the movement of people away from the countryside to towns and bring out an innate feeling that one should be trying to recreate a rural past? When did the skill of gardening change from a secret mystery handed down by trained craftsmen to their apprentices, to being public knowledge imparted by self-styled gardening experts, who now seem to be more like style consultants than practical horticulturalists? When was gardening accepted by the British people as a favourite pastime, open to all?

It has become popular in recent years to restore the original features of Victorian houses, and if they do not exist, to buy similar ones from salvage yards, or use modern replicas. Yet how many people who live in Victorian houses try to restore the Victorian garden, or even know what it would have looked

¹ This could be more closely defined as 'English', as most gardening periodicals that will be referred to are published in England. However, it is noticeable how many of the professional gardeners who are important historically are Scottish, although many of them work in England.

like? What did people use their gardens for? What plants did they grow? Did they do the work themselves or did they employ gardeners? What were the gardening magazines of the nineteenth century like? Why is so little known about the history of ordinary people's gardens and how do we go about finding out more?

Few studies of gardening as a leisure activity have been undertaken and very little has been written on the development of gardening books and magazines. Stephen Constantine² and Martin Gaskell³ have both looked at the development of amateur gardening in the nineteenth century and have found gardening as a leisure activity was not widely practised by the working classes or lower middle classes until the beginning or even the middle of the twentieth century. They have referred to Victorian gardening magazines⁴, in particular the *Gardeners' Chronicle*, which started in 1841. They seem to be saying that gardening magazines were only for the elite and that working people were not catered for. From a comprehensive study of many different gardening magazines it can be seen that they are looking for the wrong thing in the wrong place. It is a mistake to look for something we are familiar with now (the concept of 'amateur gardening') in an age when it had yet to be invented. As Eric Hobsbawm said in relation to sexual morality:

It is entirely illegitimate to read post-Freudian standards into a pre-Freudian world or to assume that sexual behaviour then must have been like ours⁵.

Gardening for working people must be looked for in the context of the class structure that existed in the nineteenth century. There were as many types of gardening and gardeners as there were social classes. The gardening indulged in by the upper classes with the help of paid professionals, was very different from the tradesman growing plants in his spare time for competitions, often without even a 'garden', as such, in which to grow the plants. Yet both would be called 'amateur gardeners' today. The cottager or allotment holder who principally grew plants for food was nonetheless an 'amateur gardener' in that he worked on his allotted piece of land in his own time, but very few gardening papers were written for him until almost the end of the century: it does not mean, however, that he did not exist earlier. There certainly was advice for him at least as early as the 1840s. The interest in gardening among working

² Stephen Constantine, 'Amateur Gardening and Popular Recreation in the 19th and 20th Centuries', *Journal of Social History* (Spring 1981), p. 387.

³ S. Martin Gaskell, 'Gardens for the Working Class: Victorian Practical Pleasure', *Victorian Studies*, (Summer 1980), p. 479.

⁴ 'Magazine', 'paper' and 'periodical' are not precise definitions. It will be seen that many of the periodicals that will be referred to have 'magazine' in their title, although in modern eyes they appear to be in the newspaper format and not like modern magazines.

people found its way into print in different ways and it takes a detailed study of all kinds of gardening periodicals published in the nineteenth century to find it.

Working people, because of their limited resources, grew plants that were native to Britain, or those which had been established here for many years and which suited the climate. They grew food plants, such as vegetables and herbs, and some fruit. However, most fruit remained something of a luxury until late in the century. Local societies specialising in showing flowers in competitions often held classes for gooseberries and currants, and, perhaps surprisingly, melons, as far back as the eighteenth century. Cottagers may also have had an apple tree or two in their garden, or trained over their front doors. But most fruit trees seem to have remained the domain of the professionals until the popular papers started giving instructions on their culture to amateurs in the second half of the nineteenth century. This was probably due to the skill required in grafting and pruning the trees, as well as the space needed in which to grow them. Fruit grown under glass also remained only for the wealthy until glasshouses started to become available for middle class amateurs at about the same time. It will be seen how John Claudius Loudon (1783-1843) bemoaned the state of English orchards after the Napoleonic Wars, due to the loss of men from the land to join the army, thus losing the skills of trained gardeners who knew how to cope with the trees⁵. William Cobbett (1763-1835), in *The English Gardener* (1829), advised people setting up gardens to surround them with six foot high fences, not simply to prevent the theft of the fruit, but also to prevent temptation to boys who wanted to steal it⁷.

In looking back at Victorian gardening from a century and a half later, it is easy to forget that gardeners then did not have access to garden centres with easily and cheaply available small sized fruit trees, already grafted onto appropriate stocks. They had to learn to do it themselves. In the present day, with electric heating, plastic pots and equipment, and greenhouses made out of easy-to-care-for aluminium or ready-preserved cedar, not to mention plants produced by selective breeding to suit our climate and size of garden, it is difficult to visualise how much of a challenge gardening was. In addition, the ingenuity of the Victorian gardener must never be under-estimated, coping with the need to grow vegetables in all seasons, without freezers to preserve the crop for the winter, and the severe pollution in towns which made gardening seem impossible. Nor must it be forgotten how much of the benefit of the work of the Victorian gardener is reaped today. The constant experimentation by competitive flower growers,

⁵ Eric Hobsbawm, *The Age of Capital 1848-1875* (Abacus, 1998), p. 275.

⁶ *Gardener's Magazine*, January 1826, p.1, Introduction.

known as florists, from well before the beginning of the nineteenth century, until the middle of the century, laid the foundations for the modern seed and plant industry. Victorians revelled in the variety of plants available and it was considerably rationalised to become the industry that exists today.

In looking at the evidence in gardening periodicals of the nineteenth century, it will be seen when gardening magazines, and the whole gardening retail trade, became aimed at the amateur gardener rather than the professional. This is the date when amateur gardening, as it is known today, can be said to have begun.

There is a huge fund of material on nineteenth century gardening, but very little guidance is available to it. Finding identifiable remains of amateurs' gardens is almost impossible, as they will usually have been changed by subsequent gardeners or destroyed by being built over. Famous gardens, such as William Robinson's Gravetye Manor and many of Gertrude Jekyll's designs, have been preserved or reconstructed according to original plans, and the garden at Heligan in Cornwall has been re-created using Victorian gardening techniques. But these are all gardens of very wealthy people that would have been maintained by professionals: amateurs' gardens are conspicuous by their absence. Local history archives often hold collections of photographs, which may include gardens, but there are usually few records to go with them. A garden that is well documented is that of Walter Butters of Hackney in east London. The Hackney Archives⁸ hold photographs of the garden itself, and of family members sitting and playing in it (see Illustration 1A), and there is even a painting of the garden by P. Dommersen in the Museum of London⁹. However, although modest in size compared to country estate gardens and situated on the outskirts of London, it was still a garden that would have been maintained with professional help. It is believed that the family holds diaries and other written evidence of the garden, and there was an article describing it in the *Gardener's Magazine* in 1876 (see Illustration 1B)¹⁰. The site of the garden was built over long ago. The same fate has befallen the several gardens of Shirley Hibberd (1825-1890), one of the most important of the mid-Victorian gardening writers. His gardens are described and illustrated in his many books and magazines. They cannot be regarded as typical of

⁷ William Cobbett, *The English Gardener* (repr. Bloomsbury Gardening Classics, 1996), para. 34.

⁸ Hackney Archives Department, 43 De Beauvoir Road, London N1 5SQ.

⁹ A photograph of the garden appears in Mireille Galinou, ed., *London's Pride, The Glorious History of the Capital's Gardens* (Anaya Publishers Ltd, 1990), p.7; and two more are in Brigid Lowe, 'Gardens in Hackney', *Garden History* (Summer 1998), p.19. The painting is illustrated in Jennifer Davies, *The Victorian Flower Garden* (BBC Books, 1991), p. 10. There were actually two gardens, numbers 41 and 49 King Edward's Road, which meet behind the intervening houses. They are an example of how 'backlands' were sometimes left over in building developments and could be used as communal gardens.

ordinary amateurs' gardens because of his special skills and obsession with experimental gardening, but they can be used to illustrate the style of middle class town and suburban gardens where most of the work would be done by, or at least directed by, the proprietor of the garden his or herself. A mid-Victorian town garden which has been beautifully restored by the National Trust is at Peckover House in Wisbech, Cambridgeshire. Again, it would have had a team of gardeners working in it, but was owned by a prosperous tradesman in the town. It shows how a medium-sized garden can contain many features, such as a rose garden, shrubbery, glasshouses, lawn and formal flower beds, which a larger country garden would have had on a much grander scale. Another recently restored Victorian amateur garden is that of Charles Darwin at Down House, Kent. His wife was the principal gardener, but would have been assisted professionally.

More evidence of Victorian town gardens can be found in Susanna Marcus's unpublished thesis, 'Town Gardens in London 1820-1914'¹¹, which examines several little known gardens (mainly disappeared) from the point of view of design. That Marcus's gardens are looked at mainly from a design point of view is the short-coming common to almost all books on garden history and the journals of garden history societies: they concentrate on design and say little about their owners and what they wanted out of their gardens, nor do they tell us much about the plants themselves and their history. It seems to be a strongly held belief among garden historians that 'garden history' is synonymous with 'the history of garden design'. In a series of lectures on the history of gardening at the Museum of Garden History in the late 1990s, Christopher Thacker, the well-known garden historian, was heard to say that he did not know the names of the plants that appeared on the slides he was showing, and it was no good asking him what they were. A member of the Garden History Society, at a weekend conference, said, 'Garden history *is* the history of garden design'. In March 2000 a conference on 'A celebration of Pelargonium: from molecular systemics to horticulture' was held at the Linnean Society. There was plenty about molecular systemics, but little about, or interest in, horticulture. Much money was being spent throughout the world on studying DNA and cell structure to see if the classification of plants carried out in the eighteenth century stood up to modern testing, but very few people seemed to care about how the plants came to Europe in the first place and how the modern hybrids were developed from plants bred during the nineteenth century. Professional nurserymen who sell pelargoniums today often have no knowledge of the old varieties, or if they claim to have, what they tell you is mostly based on hearsay or

¹⁰ *Gardener's Magazine*, 23 September 1876, p. 513.

half-researched chapters of books on modern plants. This is not surprising: books on the history of plants are virtually non-existent¹². Garden history is a multi-disciplinary study, and experts on garden design should not be criticised if they are not botanists as well, nor should botanists necessarily be historians, but it should be appreciated that there are people who are interested in the history of gardening, as opposed to the history of gardens¹³. The heart of garden history should surely be the plants themselves and the people who produced them, as much as the landscape, however well documented.

Charles Quest-Ritson in *The English Garden, A Social History*¹⁴, has to some extent recognised the problem. However, he maintains that there is very little, or no, evidence of amateurs' gardens and therefore he has to rely almost exclusively on the gardens of the wealthy¹⁵. It will be shown here that the lack of evidence is a myth. It is difficult, but not impossible, to find evidence of gardening by the working and middle classes. Again, however, one must be aware of the difference between 'gardens' and 'gardening'. To indulge in gardening, one does not need to have a garden. Gardening is growing things, whether it be horticulture or floriculture. Floriculture, in particular, as will be seen, can be practised without a garden.

In trying to discover how gardening was used as a leisure activity in the nineteenth century, the obvious place to start looking is in books on Victorian gardening. The classic is *Victorian Gardens* by Brent Elliott¹⁶, a detailed and well-documented study of the gardens of the wealthy, with comprehensive notes and bibliographies, providing a perfect starting point for researching any aspect of Victorian gardening. Dr Elliott is librarian and archivist of the Royal Horticultural Society's Lindley Library and probably the world expert on Victorian gardening, but his book would have to be twice the size if he had tried to encompass all classes of gardeners. More detail on amateurs, particularly florists, is found in *The Victorian Garden* by Tom Carter¹⁷. It is well illustrated and there are extracts from many Victorian books and magazines, but tantalisingly little about the writers referred to or guidance as to how to find

¹¹ Unpublished thesis for the Architectural Association. A copy can be found in the Royal Horticultural Society's Lindley Library.

¹² Good exceptions are Penelope Hobhouse, *Plants in Garden History* (Pavilion Books Limited, 1994), and Anna Pavord, *The Tulip* (Bloomsbury, 1999).

¹³ Jane Brown's *The Pursuit of Paradise* (Harper Collins, 1999) is sub-titled *A Social History of Gardens and Gardening*, but again concentrates on well-known designers and great gardens, giving no insight into amateurs and their reasons for gardening.

¹⁴ Charles Quest-Ritson, *The English Garden, a Social History* (Viking, 2001).

¹⁵ This was stated in a radio interview after publication of the book (*Open Book*, BBC Radio 4, 1 November 2001).

¹⁶ Brent Elliott, *Victorian Gardens* (B. T. Batsford Ltd, 1986).

¹⁷ Tom Carter, *The Victorian Garden* (Bell & Hyman, 1984).

out more about them. David Stuart's *The Garden Triumphant*¹⁸ gives a rich flavour to the Victorian period and many extracts and examples of books and writers, but frustratingly few footnotes and virtually no references, making it of limited use for the researcher. Another book with a good feel for the period is *A Paradise out of a Common Field*¹⁹, by Joan Morgan and Alison Richards, which is a celebration of the Victorian head gardener and his skills. By its very nature it concentrates on the gardens of the wealthy, as do *The Victorian Kitchen Garden* and *The Victorian Flower Garden*²⁰ by Jennifer Davies. These were produced in conjunction with two television series and give a lot of detail about professional gardeners and their methods. Details of florists can be found in the work of Ruth Duthie²¹, but although she gives a good account of the origin of florists, much of the research she undertook consisted of studying local newspapers to find accounts of florists' feasts and competitions, many of them before the nineteenth century. This is useful to see where the florists were based and what they grew but does not emphasise their importance in developing the retail nursery trade, nor does it consider what sort of people they were. As to allotments, there is no book which concentrates purely on their history. *The Allotment*²² by David Crouch and Colin Ward includes a fair amount of historical information, which is a good starting point, but it is really a book for geographers and landscape historians. Cottage gardens are described well by Anne Scott-James in *The Cottage Garden*²³, and she does much to dispel the myths, but concentrates mainly on the plants, as does Roy Genders²⁴ in his book of the same name.

Gardens in literature are described in *The Garden in Victorian Literature*²⁵ by Michael Waters. He deals with different types of gardens and illustrates them from literature against a background of gardening books of the time. He then goes on to look at the significance of the garden in Victorian literature, using a comprehensive selection of prose and poetry to illustrate his theories. Following up some of these may give ideas of what Victorian gardens were really like. However, it was pointed out by Nancy-Mary

¹⁸ David Stuart, *The Garden Triumphant, A Victorian Legacy* (Viking, 1988).

¹⁹ Joan Morgan and Alison Richards, *A Paradise out of a Common Field* (Century, 1990).

²⁰ Jennifer Davies, *The Victorian Kitchen Garden* (BBC Books, 1991), *The Victorian Flower Garden* (BBC Books, 1991).

²¹ Ruth Duthie, *Florists' Flowers and Societies* (Shire Publications Ltd, 1988); Ruth E. Duthie, 'English Florists' Societies and Feasts in the Seventeenth and first half of the Eighteenth Centuries', *Garden History* (Spring 1982), p. 17; Ruth Duthie, 'Florists' Societies and Feasts after 1750', *Garden History* (Spring 1984), p. 11.

²² David Crouch and Colin Ward, *The Allotment, Its Landscape and Culture* (Mushroom Bookshop, 1994).

²³ Anne Scott-James, *The Cottage Garden* (Allen Lane, 1981).

²⁴ Roy Genders, *The Cottage Garden* (Pelham Books, 1969).

²⁵ Michael Waters, *The Garden in Victorian Literature* (Scolar Press, 1988).

Goodall²⁶ in her essay on *The Aspern Papers* by Henry James that not every novelist had a knowledge of, or interest in, gardening. Many of James's references to plants and gardening are inaccurate if not impossible. Gardens and flowers in literature can be used in a different way: they show the Victorian attitude to horticulture. Repeatedly in nineteenth century literature there are references to the fact that women like and appreciate flowers and the implication is that women are as sensitive and delicate as flowers. Gardens are also used as enclosed settings where important scenes take place. This can imply a safe place, or a place of danger from which there is no escape. The fact that flowers and gardens are used in this way shows that they were familiar as part of a home or were places of recreation. Flowers were common everyday things, the names of which were known and their seasonal nature representative of the time in which the action in a story takes place. They may not ultimately tell us with any accuracy what Victorian gardens were like, but they do tell us that gardens and flowers were things that people could identify with.

Gardens in paintings can be viewed in the same way. In *Victorian Flower Gardens* by Andrew Clayton-Payne²⁷ paintings of gardens of all sorts, from humble cottages to stately homes, are illustrated and described and brief biographies are given of the artists. Here can be seen the 'chocolate box' depiction of the thatched cottage with roses round the door with small children and animals conveniently posed in front. Here also are the elegant herbaceous borders and walled gardens in dappled sunlight so typical of the late Victorian period. It is pointed out very early on in the book that most of the paintings date from the last quarter of the nineteenth century and therefore however accurate they may be, they only encapsulate a small part of the era with which we are concerned. One of the most interesting paintings in the context of amateur gardening is 'An Amateur' or 'Coachman and Cabbage' by Frederick Walker. It depicts a man dressed as a coachman cutting a cabbage in a walled vegetable garden and dates from the 1860s or 1870s. Clayton-Payne suggests that the man is an interloper from another department of the household and is helping himself to a cabbage. However, it will be seen in Part 1, Chapter 3, that the scene may not be so straightforward: the coachman may in fact *be* the gardener. This painting may be even more realistic than it at first seems. Victorian flower garden paintings may be largely fantasies, but they show the ideals of gardeners and garden-owners. If this is what was sold to those wealthy enough to buy or commission paintings, is it not what they wanted their gardens to look like? Similarly, the millions of prints and reproductions in newspapers which were used to decorate the homes of the less

²⁶ Nancy-Mary Goodall, 'The Aspern Papers' in *By Pen and Spade, An Anthology of Garden Writing from Hortus*, ed. David Wheeler (Alan Sutton, 1990).

affluent represent a nostalgia for the cottages in the countryside felt by many who were condemned to live in towns and may not have been lucky enough to have gardens of their own.

From all the books on Victorian gardening the same names keep emerging as significant, and yet the personalities that go with the names always remain in the background. No one seems to go further than reading the same books that appear in everyone else's bibliography or using the extracts that are recycled again and again. Yet it is not difficult to find out more about these obscure personalities by reading their obituaries in the gardening magazines and checking the titles they produced in the catalogue of the British Library. A little further research using birth and marriage registers or census returns starts to put flesh on the bones of these not so long dead characters and often provides new insight into the background of their gardening lives, finding out how they came to be involved and where and how their careers began. In the case of people who are not professional gardeners, this can help to explain what made other amateurs take up gardening and the difficulties they had.

The development of gardens must be considered with the development of housing in the nineteenth century. Books such as John Burnett's *A Social History of Housing*²⁸, H.J. Dyos's *Victorian Suburb*²⁹, Stefan Muthesius's *The English Terraced House*³⁰ and Isobel Watson's *Gentlemen in the Building Line*³¹, all show how Victorian towns and suburbs developed and how gardens were provided and related to the pattern of streets and houses, but there is no information on how the gardens were actually used. The space at the back of the house would originally have contained the privy and would have been directly accessed from the kitchen or wash house, making it primarily the domain of the servants. It was only when water closets were routinely provided inside that the space would become developed as a leisure space for the family and could become a garden. Todd Longstaffe-Gowan's *The London Town Garden 1740-1840*³² is a step in the right direction towards looking at the use of the town garden, but although he defines his period strictly, many of his descriptions of gardens actually come from later periods, whereas his illustrations all come very much from the period named. The book tends to deal in generalisations without considering the context from which the descriptions come.

²⁷ Andrew Clayton-Payne, *Victorian Flower Gardens* (Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1988).

²⁸ John Burnett, *A Social History of Housing* (Methuen, 1980).

²⁹ H. J. Dyos, *Victorian Suburb* (Leicester University Press, 1961).

³⁰ Stefan Muthesius, *The English Terraced House* (Yale University Press, 1982).

³¹ Isobel Watson, *Gentlemen in the Building Line* (Padfield Publications, 1989).

³² Todd Longstaffe-Gowan, *The London Town Garden 1740-1840* (Yale University Press, 2001).

Gardening must also be looked at among other leisure activities of the time. Studies have been done on drinking patterns, sport, community activities and gambling, but gardening seems to have been ignored. Perhaps this is because it has always been there. In the same way as it was thought until recently that learning to cook was something one absorbed from one's upbringing and family, gardening seems to have been regarded as something amateurs learned at home, like bringing up children, or housework. It was not thought to be important enough to study or analyse. Yet it was an activity that was popular in all classes of society and gave a great deal of pleasure to many, which is evident from the thriving societies set up to hold competitions and disseminate information to their members. The interest in gardening among amateurs increased as society developed in towns and people drifted away from rural communities. It seems that the first industrialised nation was the one which developed the greatest fondness for all things rural. It does not seem to have been simply that people were trying to capture a part of the countryside that they remembered from childhood.

There may have been something deeper in English society which felt a need to establish an 'estate' of one's own, however small. J.M. Golby and A. W. Purdue have commented in *The Civilisation of the Crowd*³³ that English social structure was different from that of other European countries and that this led to a distinct popular culture in England. It seems that this difference in society may also be the reason why gardening as a pastime is such an English phenomenon. Because of the English legal system and the way that land passes to the eldest son under the doctrine of primogeniture, as well as the Enclosure Acts, which took much of the common land away from villagers, England's peasant society disappeared much earlier than that of the rest of Europe. Younger sons were forced to take on other occupations and large estates remained intact. This led to the powerful landed classes being major employers and patrons in any rural community. Land-owning in England symbolised power, whereas in European countries where land was divided in each generation and people were tied to their smallholdings as their only means of support, land symbolised drudgery and became a burden. When the English middle classes obtained their individual terraced houses or villas with a rectangle of garden attached, they saw it as a miniature country estate where they could indulge their individuality and be their own masters, whereas the European who was freed from his family smallholding immediately graduated to a town apartment with no more than a balcony to look out over his shared urban domain.

³³ J.M. Golby and A.W. Purdue, *The Civilisation of the Crowd, Popular Culture in England 1750-1900* (Sutton Publishing Ltd, 1999), pp. 20-21.

Martin Wiener has commented³⁴ that the increase in the urban way of life led to an interest in and longing for the past, which corresponded to a rural way of life. There was a certain amount of security felt in looking at traditional country life, when those who lived in cities felt less and less sure of what more changes there would be in society and how it would affect them. This filtered down to the lower middle classes when they obtained their modest terraced houses and tried to make them look like miniature country cottages. This is not the only reason why gardening became so popular in England (part one, chapter one, will deal with practical influences), but it remains in the subconscious mind of many people who will never aspire to anything more than a few square metres of back garden.

The nineteenth century was a time of great social and economic change. People began to move about more to find work or make money. As they set themselves up in communities away from family connections they could no longer rely on local patronage to find jobs and places to live. They had to become more self-sufficient and therefore had to display their talents and their successes. The home was one manifestation of this and the garden naturally became part of the home, perhaps the most conspicuous part, as it could be seen before being invited inside. As Britain prospered as a manufacturing and trading nation, it emerged as a consumer society. There were great opportunities to buy new products, many quite inexpensive, to enhance the home and garden. Not only plants, but decorative features and buildings, such as summerhouses and glasshouses, could be used to make the garden more attractive and its owner appear more prosperous.

Gardening and garden visiting can be regarded as one form of rational recreation. Like public libraries and museums, parks were places for relaxation in 'improving' surroundings, where all social classes could mix together and where ideas could be formed for one's own garden at home. Horticultural exhibitions and shows were an extension of this idea, with perhaps a more festive atmosphere and containing more spectacular exhibits, almost a form of public entertainment. An interest in gardening was part of the extended variety of leisure activities that occurred in the mid- to late nineteenth century. By the end of the century, designing gardens, and in particular flower borders, became an accomplishment that many upper class women took on, sometimes in a semi-professional capacity.

³⁴ Martin J. Wiener, *English Culture and the Decline of the Industrial Spirit 1850-1980* (Penguin Books, 1992), pp. 44-46.

Amateur gardening developed from a different stand-point from professional gardening. The professionals relied on passing down information and teaching skills in a formal way through apprenticeships. Everything was done on a large scale with proper tools and equipment. Amateurs did not have the luxury of time and may not have had the money, but they did have enthusiasm and practicality. They picked out the bits of gardening knowledge that they needed and did without the rest. At the beginning of the century, most gardening information came from gardening manuals written by professionals for professionals. The professional writers assume that all the skills of gardening are required to be taught and go about it in a methodical way: The Kitchen Garden, The Shrubbery, The Pleasure Garden, and all the other departments of the large country estate are set out with unbending rules and pages of technical instructions. Occasionally one comes across a book written by an amateur, and at last it can be seen how amateurs really gardened. They state how difficult it is for amateurs to get through the smokescreen thrown up by the professionals. This could be intentional, to safeguard their livelihoods, or unintentional, simply because they do not contemplate that unskilled amateurs will be reading the books and do not understand their difficulties. Amateurs explain what actually happens in their gardens, rather than what should happen according to the professionals: how to improve the soil and choose easy plants that will give pleasure quickly. However, from the rarity of these books it is clear that an amateur gardener in the middle classes before about 1850 was something of an eccentric. The ones who got as far as writing books for others had to explain why they were doing it and convince the readers that it was possible to actually grow things without the intervention of a 'professed gardener' to make sure they were not wasting their time. As the century progressed and popular publishing developed, topical information for gardeners began to appear in the form of periodical papers.

Specialist newspapers appeared on all popular leisure activities, and followed in the footsteps of the early nineteenth century 'penny papers' which had started with political and religious subject matter and quickly branched out into fiction, science, music and sensational crime stories. It became clear that pictures sold papers, and many illustrated papers, such as *The Illustrated London News*, *The People's Illustrated Journal* and *The Pictorial World* appeared from the 1840s onwards. Most gardening papers featured supplements of one sort or another, as a further inducement to readers. Sometimes these were large illustrations or colour plates, but could also be extra pages of family reading matter or specialist gardening information. Colour plates were usually included in monthly papers, but by the end of the century they also appeared in some of the weeklies. By that time, with improved photographic processes, the papers began at last to produce realistic reproductions of both flowers and gardens.

Gardening papers started as specialist papers for particular classes of gardeners, but by the mid-century, as the groups of gardeners merged, the papers began to appeal to broader categories. Printing processes improved and newspaper taxes were abolished, so that by the later part of the century the prices of papers fell dramatically. However, the increase in circulation figures was also due to the fact that literacy increased and so more people bought papers. Changes also took place in the way papers were bought. Early in the century sales were usually by subscription, but as the number of bookstalls and newspaper-sellers increased, generally in association with railway stations, it became more common for readers to buy their papers through book and newspaper sellers, which meant they were not tied to one paper exclusively, as they would be when buying by subscription.

The publishers who started producing the horticultural papers came from several different backgrounds. There are those who are totally individual, who started their own papers and sometimes ruined themselves financially. Others obtained backing from publishers who had already had successes, such as the publishers of *Punch*. The remainder were mostly publishers of related subject matter, such as natural history or science. There was little variety in the titles given to horticultural papers; not surprisingly, publishers wanted readers to know what the subject matter was going to be. This has produced the stumbling block that most modern researchers seem unable to overcome: one look at the vast number of titles is daunting to any but the most dedicated reader with endless time. They are faced with an unclassified collection of periodicals under a confusing combination of names, such as 'the horticultural journal', 'the journal of horticulture', 'the horticultural register', 'the florists' register', 'the floricultural cabinet', 'the botanical cabinet', 'the florists' magazine', 'the floral world', 'the floral magazine', 'the floricultural magazine', 'the gardener's magazine', 'the gardening world', 'gardening illustrated', 'the garden', 'the cottage garden', 'cottage gardening', 'the botanical magazine', 'the botanical register'..... and so it goes on³⁵. When looking at magazines in any library it is not always easy to find out whether they have a complete run, as there is not usually any indication of when a magazine started or finished. Sometimes it is not stated in the magazine who the editor was, and libraries do not seem to provide this sort of information. Most people with limited time will never attempt to look further than the *Gardeners' Chronicle* with its complete run from 1841 invitingly laid out on open shelves in the Lindley Library at the Royal Horticultural Society³⁶.

³⁵ For a full list of periodicals, see Appendix 1.

³⁶ Since this research was begun the library has been rebuilt and is now larger, with better facilities for researchers. The *Gardeners' Chronicle* is still on open shelves, and so are several other Victorian periodicals, which may encourage random browsing. However, whereas in the old library, almost all the

The Lindley Library was based on the collection of John Lindley (1799-1865), one of the founders of the *Gardeners' Chronicle*, a botanist and a man of very settled opinions. It is noticeable that the papers of his rivals, or those Lindley did not consider important, are not available in the library. It is misleading to use only its resources. Other collections exist at the Colindale newspaper library, the British Library and the Bodleian Library. Without reading them, a clear picture of Victorian gardening will not be seen. There are two articles which give some guidance to the magazines³⁷, and which provide a good starting point for a more detailed study, but they both rely heavily on the Lindley Library collection. Dr Elliott of the Lindley Library confirmed that no comprehensive guide to horticultural periodicals has ever been produced. This study therefore began to evolve as an enquiry into the periodicals mainly for convenience while researching the subject of amateur gardening in the nineteenth century, but then it became a study in itself. It seemed that it would be a useful aid to other researchers to explain the background and origin of the papers and give some guidance as to what readers each paper was aiming at. It is not enough to read the papers without knowing who was responsible for them. The editors who are most innovative move from one paper to another and are often responsible for several papers at a time, though their names may never appear on them. The names of the papers are sometimes changed to attract new classes of readers or to reflect those who have already started to read them. Some changes are most apparent from reading other papers' comments on them. The editors of the most popular papers attracted a following like television personalities do today and their rivalry was just as cut-throat as modern media tycoons. Their methods were generally not subject to modern press restrictions.

The history of amateur gardening is by its nature the history of the people who wrote about gardening for amateurs. Their backgrounds are diverse: they come to gardening from botany, illustrating, professional gardening, landscaping, the nursery trade, journalism and law, all drawn together by an interest in growing things and spreading the gospel of plants to the world at large. Sometimes this is done simply to make money, but often because they believed it would do people good. Studies of these writers are few. John Loudon's work in architecture is covered in *Loudon and the Landscape*³⁸ by Melanie Simo, and *Mr Loudon's England, The Life and Work of John Claudius Loudon and his*

periodicals were displayed in locked glass cases, which could be opened on request, in the new library, most of the Victorian periodicals are 'behind the scenes' and therefore their existence has to be known about for them to be requested. It may be that in future the four or so periodicals on open shelves will be used more, but the others will almost certainly be used less.

³⁷ Brent Elliott, 'Gardening Times', *The Garden* (September 1993), p.411; Ray Desmond, 'Victorian Gardening Magazines', *Garden History* (Winter 1977), p. 47.

*influence on architecture and furniture design*³⁹ by John Gloag, but the best account of his journalistic work was written by his wife⁴⁰, Jane Loudon (1807-1858). John Lindley's life is summarised in William Stearn's anthology published to celebrate the bicentenary of his birth⁴¹. Mea Allan's biography⁴² of William Robinson (1838-1935) is inaccurate on several counts and is over-romanticised. Joseph Paxton (1803-1865) is well-known for his engineering work, but there seem to be no comprehensive accounts of his gardening or journalistic work⁴³. Articles have been written in journals on George Glenny (1793-1874)⁴⁴, Robert Hogg (1818-1897)⁴⁵ and Shirley Hibberd⁴⁶, but no full-length biographies have appeared.

The 'doing-good' side of gardening was particularly strong in connection with the history of allotments, usually provided by employers or local authorities, but it was also relevant to the history of public parks. Parks gave amateurs inspiration as to what plants to grow and the style in which to grow them, and they also provided, in the form of conservatories and halls, venues for horticultural shows and exhibitions. Shows brought gardeners together, encouraged competition in the expertise of gardening, and were often founded or supported by the same people who were behind the gardening magazines. Gardening appealed to the 'rational recreationalists', who wanted to get people away from traditional leisure activities connected with alcohol and violence. As well as keeping people out of the pubs, it positively encouraged them to engage in exercise in the fresh air and there was a beneficial end-product.

The crucial point about gardening in the nineteenth century is that right from the beginning there were several distinct groups of people, defined by social class, who were gardeners, but they had different interests, aims and aspirations. They could not be defined as 'amateur gardeners' as we know them today. But by the middle of the century they began to associate together and take ideas from each other,

³⁸ Melanie Louise Simo, *Loudon and the Landscape* (Yale University Press, 1988).

³⁹ John Gloag, *Mr Loudon's England, The Life and Work of John Claudius Loudon and his influence on architecture and furniture design* (Oriel Press, 1970).

⁴⁰ See Jane Loudon, *An Account of the Life and Writings of John Claudius Loudon*, reprinted in *John Claudius Loudon and the Early Nineteenth Century in Great Britain*, ed. Elisabeth B. MacDougall (Dumbarton Oaks, Trustees for Harvard University, 1980).

⁴¹ William T. Stearn, ed. *John Lindley 1799-1865, Gardener, Botanist and Pioneer Orchidologist, a Bicentenary Celebration Volume* (Antique Collectors Club and RHS, 1999).

⁴² Mea Allan, *William Robinson* (Faber & Faber, 1982).

⁴³ George F. Chadwick, *The Works of Sir Joseph Paxton* (Architectural Press, 1961), concentrates on his glasshouses and other engineering works. See also Violet G. Markham, *Paxton and the Bachelor Duke* (Hodder & Stoughton, 1935).

⁴⁴ See Will Tjaden, 'The Gardeners Gazette 1837-1847 and its Rivals', *Garden History* (Spring 1983), p. 70; Will Tjaden, 'George Glenny, Horticultural Hornet', *The Garden* 1986, p.318.

⁴⁵ See Brent Elliott, 'Robert Hogg – Standard Setter', *The Garden* (September 1992), p.427.

partly as a result of changes in housing and transport, and partly through encouragement and support from both writers and retailers, who began to see the amateur gardener as a commercial proposition. By the end of the century, 'the amateur gardener' was certainly in existence and thriving in the middle classes, if not the working classes. By the time of the First World War, when a large part of the workforce of the great country estates disappeared, and the middle and working classes were encouraged to 'dig for victory', there was no turning back and the amateur gardener was established as part of the British way of life.

This study will look at gardening from the 1820s to 1900. The first magazine to define itself for gardeners was established in 1826 by John Loudon, although it will be seen that it was not the true ancestor of later magazines. However, Loudon himself provides the key to amateur gardening in his other works for suburban gardeners, and his era is an appropriate place to start. The end of the century is not a natural stopping point: 1914-18 might be more appropriate as life never returned to the way it was before. However, by 1900 the gardening magazines were established in types that still exist today. In looking for the origins of amateur gardening, the magazines and their editors have been used for evidence, and books are referred to only in passing. This is because it is the magazines which provide the topical and seasonal information, whereas books, although records of gardening practice, are necessarily written for future reference. Also, many of the books are compilations of magazine articles. (The authors, although often extraordinarily prolific, never minded cashing in on their work repeatedly if the opportunity arose.) Most of the examples are based on research in London, but where possible provincial papers and gardeners away from south-east England are referred to. In fact, there are very few periodicals which were produced outside London. London was historically the centre of the publishing industry and it seems that although gardeners tried to set up papers in other towns, none succeeded for any length of time until near the end of the century. There are many areas which are outside the scope of this research, which may provide ideas for future researchers. Some examples are: allotments (the study of which is necessarily associated with the poor relief system), the retail trade, women in gardening, clergymen in gardening, the history of the professional gardener and the history of florists.

The thesis is divided into two parts. Part One will look at the development of gardening in the nineteenth century. Part Two will look chronologically at the establishment of horticultural periodicals.

⁴⁶ See Anne Wilkinson, 'The Preternatural Gardener: The Life of James Shirley Hibberd (1825-90)', *Garden History* (Winter 1998), p. 153.

The background to gardening will be explored by considering the influences on the growth of the popularity of gardening, how towns and cities expanded and how open space became more desirable. The changing uses of leisure time will be considered, as well as the advances in science, technology, transport and communication, and the interest in education and self-improvement. The other great influence on gardening was the introduction of new plants and the growth of the nursery trade. The role of plant hunters and the commercialisation and popularity of plants leading to lower prices and greater availability will be explained, as well as the popularity of florists' flowers and the societies dedicated to them. It then becomes necessary to consider the role of professional gardeners in the nineteenth century, their training and their status in society. This will be contrasted to the varieties of amateur gardeners and the changing needs for gardeners as towns and suburbs developed. It will be seen that as towns developed, professional gardeners moved further away and the amateurs were forced to take gardening into their own hands.

Other topics considered in Part One will be gardening outside towns, such as cottage gardens, and allotments, the public side of gardening, seen in parks and horticultural societies, and the influences of class differences in both parks and horticultural societies. Lastly, the special position of women and clergymen will be explored. Both groups represented the amateur's view of gardening and both were often in positions where they were looked up to as leaders of family or social groups. The section on women will look at the way the physical work of gardening was tackled by women and how the way they were regarded by editors and advertisers. Women are also considered as writers, artists and designers, and their role in gardening in the later part of the century is compared to their position before 1850. In regard to clergymen, their gardening interests are considered in relation to the popularity of botany and natural history generally in the early part of the century. Then it will be seen that several became popular writers in the mid- to late nineteenth century and their intellectual abilities, combined with their respected positions in society, made them ideally suited to working for horticultural associations, as well as pursuing personal research into plant breeding or building specialist collections of plants.

Part Two is treated as a separate section so as to provide a chronological narrative and help to chart the movement of many of the editors and contributors to the periodicals from one publication to another. The origins of the periodicals will be examined, in connection with the botanical magazines and the manuals for professional gardeners. The role of John Loudon will be compared to the work of other

editors. In the context of the establishment of the weekly papers, the position of the Horticultural Society will be considered, as will that of the florists in connection with magazines started by them. Amateurs were recognised as serious gardeners in the 1850s and the importance and influence of Shirley Hibberd and other amateurs will be explored. The 1860s produced a golden age in horticultural publishing, which was shattered in the 1870s with the impact of William Robinson. He is the last great nineteenth century entrepreneur responsible for horticultural periodicals and he brought in new ideas and new classes of writers. These changes culminated in a split between the expensive papers for the wealthy and the cheap papers for the 'do-it-yourself' amateurs.

The Appendices will provide a summary for reference purposes of all the periodicals and contributors mentioned.

Part One. The Development of Gardening in the Nineteenth Century.

Chapter 1. Influences on the Development of Gardening as a Leisure Activity.

It could be said that gardening developed in popularity in Britain in the nineteenth century because it was the right place at the right time, and that people had the right mentality to be receptive to it. Britain's temperate climate, without extremes of hot or cold and with rainfall all the year round, as well as its variety of soil, meant that a suitable habitat could be found for almost any plant that was introduced. Skills in botany and horticulture were well established and the challenges posed by new plants were welcomed by gardeners and herbalists. Britain's position as a world trade centre meant that the British people were used to new products and ideas, some of which had arrived by accident, and they were quickly absorbed into people's lives. By the early nineteenth century, Britain was a wealthy country and could afford imported luxuries. By the middle of the century, even the lower middle classes took novelties for granted and were eager to show them off to friends and family. Importers and producers found it hard to keep pace with demands of consumers with their new-found disposable incomes and increased leisure time. It was inevitable that decorative plants would be among the many other objects of desire for anyone who had money to spend.

The development of gardening in the nineteenth century can be compared to the development of home decorating in the twentieth century. In the early 1900s it was mainly poor working people who painted their homes out of necessity, as they could not afford to pay professionals to do it for them. Painting and decorating was a skilled and messy job entailing complicated mixing of chemicals and pigments with no products specially prepared for or available to amateurs¹. However, by the mid-twentieth century, advances in the chemical industry made it possible to produce paint and papers that were simple to use, and 'tricks of the trade' became common knowledge. It became socially acceptable among the working and middle classes to let people know one was saving money with 'do-it-yourself', and many people took pride in learning the techniques and skills of the building trades as a leisure activity. By the end of the century, 'lifestyle' television programmes and glossy magazines persuaded consumers that it was feasible to transform a room in two days with hard work and minimum instruction. Even the wealthy, although perhaps not putting on the paint with their own hands, found it fashionable to engage personal designers

to create an individual style, which could then be reproduced in magazines to exhibit their good taste. Similarly, gardening in the early 1800s was almost purely the domain of trained men with skills and secrets learned from years of apprenticeship and experience, and it was predominantly agricultural labourers who grew vegetables for food, and town tradesmen and craftsmen who grew flowers for competition. By the middle of the century, however, gardening had become one of the many interests adopted by the middle classes for pleasure, partly out of necessity in small gardens without resources for a full garden staff, but partly out of interest and pleasure as an improving activity and leisure pursuit. By the last quarter of the century there were at least ten gardening magazines catering for all classes of gardener, and many of the editors and writers became household names. The improvements in garden buildings, equipment and chemicals provided labour-saving devices designed to help amateurs, including women, and good transport and communications made ordering plants, seeds, equipment and fertilisers almost as easy as it is today. By the end of the century, the influential writers were middle and upper class men and women who were teaching style and taste, as much as professionals giving instruction in horticulture.

During the nineteenth century, British society was transformed from being predominantly rural to predominantly urban. It would be convenient to say that this led to a sentimental longing for the countryside which encouraged people who could afford it to take up gardening to try to conjure up their lost rural heritage. There is some truth in this: people who had originally lived in the country, or who perhaps regularly visited relatives who still lived there, may well have felt that country life was healthier and more pleasant and they may have cultivated the green space around their house to remind them of flowers and country scents. However, there were many reasons why people were persuaded that gardening was a good thing and once the consumers were won over, the suppliers, of both plants and equipment, and also knowledge, began to make money and so were even more inclined to cultivate a market.

Towns had developed haphazardly at first. A piece of land might be leased from the owner by a speculative builder and a row or group of houses built. The houses would probably have reasonable sized gardens and be surrounded by open country with farms or market gardens, which supplied the town with fresh food. Gradually, if the houses sold, more would be built nearby, but it would usually be some time

¹ In Robert Tressall's *The Ragged Trousered Philanthropists* (1914, repr. Penguin Books, 1940) the difficulties and skills of painting and decorating at the beginning of the twentieth century are described.

before proper roads and drainage were constructed with any idea of future planning. In this environment it was still possible to obtain fresh air and fresh food nearby. Many people may have lived for years on what was virtually a building site, as pieces of land were developed without proper planning and while waiting for the money and the work-force to become available to the speculator.

The typical ribbon development...around 1820...was already the terrace...This was the form of building that made the most economical use of the land available along a given road-frontage. [It] would be divided into narrow but often quite long strips, running back from the roadway at right angles. At the front, each house would occupy the whole of the cramped width, commonly no more than about twelve feet. The spare space was (and is) all at the back, on land that was no use to the builder because there was no road access to it – at least until another street was planned, parallel or at right angles to the first... Here were – and are – yards, lawns, vegetable gardens².

At first, therefore, nineteenth century terraced houses had large gardens because no one needed the land in between. By the 1850s and 1860s, however, with railways connecting the whole country and their necessary stations, shunting yards and coal heaps, land started to become scarce and houses were built more closely together and on a smaller scale. Drainage and water supply were improved and the consequential regularisation led to the familiar pattern of terraced houses or semi-detached villas with regular sized gardens at the back. These were often built to fill in the space between the older houses and took away some of the gardens and all the open land. The market gardeners and nurserymen were driven out by high land prices and worsening pollution, making it impossible to grow food or keep cows for fresh milk within walking distance of the centre of town. For the first time, large areas of towns became purely residential instead of living accommodation being integrated with shops and other commercial buildings, or houses of the wealthy being isolated in their own grounds. This new pattern of development with a house and garden being a self-contained unit among many other identical units must have contributed to a feeling among the occupiers that they had to put their own stamp on their home to distinguish it from all the others. As open land was whittled away and residents gradually found themselves surrounded by bricks and mortar, it was not surprising if they tried to cling on to a small space in which to grow some flowers or shrubs to provide colour in the drabness.

In the early nineteenth century the space outside the back of the house would have contained the privy, and the whole of the 'back extension' of a terraced house would have been a scullery and washhouse. Therefore, it was not an inviting place for the family to use as a 'garden', particularly as the only access may have been through the kitchen and washhouse. The problem of access could be solved by providing a

door from the living room or a side door from the passage between the living area and kitchen, but until the necessity for a privy disappeared with the introduction of indoor water closets, from the 1860s onwards, the 'garden' would never be a very inviting place. The time scale of development and the typical street pattern of terraced housing was different in each city because of the difference in local byelaws governing health and sanitation. A local Act in Manchester in 1844 provided that each house should have a privy or ash pit at the back. This necessitated an alley between each row of houses for the night soil men to obtain access. Once water closets were built into new houses the alley was unnecessary and there was more space for a garden, which could run right up to the garden of the house in the next street. The geography of a town also contributed to the pattern of the streets. By 1845 Nottingham was more overcrowded than any other city because houses had to be crammed into the areas near the factories, but the city was surrounded on three sides by great estates whose land could not be purchased. Eventually isolated settlements grew up outside the town which eventually became suburbs.

It is difficult to find out how people actually used these 'gardens' at the back of small terraced houses once they acquired them. Probably there was as much variety as there is now: some people will enjoy cultivating them, others pave them over and use them as dog runs, and some do nothing, so they simply become patches of weeds. There may have been more scope for a real garden in the semi-detached villas which became more common in the 1860s and 70s as they had wider gardens and a side access. In either case, houses were not usually owned, but held on leases for a year, six months or a quarter. It was therefore not practical for many people to invest too much money in the permanent features of a garden. Perhaps this is one reason for the popularity of bedding plants as a typical component in the Victorian garden: they only lasted one season, so could be bought when needed and then discarded when a family moved on. Even the more exotic sub-tropical plants could be regarded as temporary as they would have to be taken inside in the winter and only a skilled gardener would be able to keep them alive for more than a year or so. Similarly the urns, pots and statues used decoratively could be taken away when moving, along with the other furniture.

Living in town was a necessity for those who worked there, before cheap train fares made it possible to commute. However, the ideal for many people in the early part of the century, if they could afford it, was the suburb. John Claudius Loudon explained the attraction of the suburb:

² Gillian Tindall, *The Fields Beneath, The History of One London Village* (Temple Smith, 1977), pp. 115-116.

Towns, by the concentration which they afford, are calculated essentially for business and facility of enjoyment; and the interior of the country, by its wide expanse, for the display of hospitality, wealth and magnificence, by the extensive landed proprietor: or for a life of labour and wealth, but without social intercourse, by the cultivator of the soil. The suburbs of towns are alone calculated to afford a maximum of comfort and enjoyment at a minimum of expense³.

The inexpensiveness of life in the suburb was emphasised by Thomas Webster and Frances Parkes:

Ground not being so valuable as in town, many more conveniences can be acquired, such as a garden...The pleasure to be derived from a garden, and from the cheerful and enlivening effect of trees and vegetation in general, together with quiet and absence of smoke...are circumstances worthy of consideration⁴.

These early nineteenth century suburbs began to develop before towns expanded. In the 1830s Loudon wrote *The Suburban Gardener* for the middle classes who found it convenient to live in small 'satellite' settlements outside London and other large towns. They were very different from the areas of the same name that surrounded towns without a gap of country by the end of the century: this must be borne in mind when reading books and magazines described as being 'for suburban gardeners'. The late nineteenth century suburb was a commuter-land of small terraced houses close to railway stations where the garden could be measured in feet rather than the quarter or half acre common to Loudon's suburbia. Mr Pooter, in George and Weedon Grossmith's *Diary of a Nobody* is often quoted as typical of the suburban-dwelling clerk of the late Victorian period. He was certainly very unlike the suburbanites described in Loudon's books. However, houses like Pooter's Holloway semi-detached villa provided ideal homes for middle class workers with families:

When the income is limited, a small garden is a convenience, as the older children can be sent out to play by themselves...Those people who yearn for the pleasures of the country and who find their diversion in... gardening, and whom cruel fate prevents from living in the real country, might find suburban life preferable to town life⁵.

By the beginning of the twentieth century the suburb had acquired yet another meaning, with the concept of the garden suburb promoted by Ebenezer Howard. There the garden literally took over the suburb: houses were situated in tree-lined streets and good-sized gardens enclosed by hedges were available to all.

³ John Claudius Loudon, *The Suburban Gardener and Villa Companion* (Longman, 1838).

⁴ Thomas Webster and Frances Parkes, *An Encyclopaedia of Domestic Economy* (1844), quoted in David Rubenstein, *Victorian Homes* (David and Charles, 1974).

⁵ Dorothy Peel, *The New Home* (1898), quoted in *Victorian Homes*.

Once people had gardens, they had to decide how to design and maintain them. In the early part of the century, those with a rural past would remember the great gardens of their family patrons, and the cottage gardens of their own parents or grand-parents. But by the mid-century, with less memory to rely on, people began to copy the great gardens in towns: the parks. Public parks (as opposed to royal parks) were created from the 1840s onwards to provide fresh air and exercise for town dwellers and to appease the unrest felt when working people protested about the conditions in which they had to live. It was thought desirable by government to give working people access to open space before they took it for themselves by force. At first parks were modelled on the eighteenth century landscape style, but as gardeners began to establish themselves as park designers, parks began to take on their own identity, which they maintained in many cases beyond the end of the twentieth century. Park garden designs were usually based on shrubs and bedding plants, which became the dominant style for gardens of the Victoria era. There are many reasons why bedding plants became so popular, and they will be looked at in more detail in later chapters.

While leisure time for working people may not have greatly increased until late in the nineteenth century, its quality improved for many from the mid-century onwards due to the encouragement of 'rational recreation'. The railways provided efficient reliable transport which enabled people to travel more easily and take part in excursions and in the same way that museums, art galleries and libraries were provided to educate people and enrich their lives, so parks provided a safe retreat with fresh air and exercise, as well as displays that were pleasing to the eye. Parks were also approved of for encouraging people to mix with those of higher social classes, and so learn better behaviour and to take a pride in their appearance. Gardening fitted in with the idea of rational recreation, and was seized upon by those striving to improve other people's lives as providing a productive activity different from existing leisure pursuits, which were mainly connected with alcohol, gambling and cruelty to animals:

The early Victorians were genuinely concerned and bewildered about how leisure time should be used. For one thing leisure was often associated with idleness, so that while it was acknowledged that spare time could bring benefits it was also recognized that it had its dangers. In a society where the gospel of work was so deeply ingrained and its virtues so vigorously extolled, it was perhaps inevitable that leisure time should be regarded with suspicion⁶.

Employers and philanthropists therefore did their utmost to see that when working people were 'at leisure' they should occupy their time with what amounted to other sorts of work. Growing flowers and

⁶ J.M. Golby and A.W. Purdue, *The Civilisation of the Crowd* (Sutton Publishing Ltd, 1999), p.91.

vegetables was just the sort of thing that seemed desirable as it kept them away from the pub, and provided an end product that could benefit themselves and their families. Gardening for those who had their own space for a garden could be classified as rational recreation in that it was connected with educational pursuits in the form of botany and natural history, as well as being productive and involving fresh air and exercise. However, it differed in that it was not an organised or social activity when it took place in one's own home. One of the attractions of gardening for many people was, and is, that it is an expression of one's own individual taste, and this would not necessarily conform to that of the majority. Private gardening for the upper middle classes, who could afford substantial homes with their own grounds, started in the 1830s and 40s, as witnessed by Loudon in his books on suburban gardening, whereas the lower middle classes had to wait until the 1850s and 60s when the mass-production of terraced houses provided them with their own gardens. It was not until 1858, when the *Floral World* started, that a periodical was aimed specifically at them.

The traditional place for gardening for the working classes was the allotment. However, it will be seen in a later chapter that this was not quite as simple as it might appear. The history of allotments has not yet been written, but it is closely connected with the development of poor relief and the changes in farming that brought about enclosed land. Allotments were usually let on condition that the allottees observed rules concerned with church attendance, sobriety and not working on Sundays. Organising such schemes was often a useful occupation for ladies who had plenty of leisure time, or clergymen who wanted to set a good example. Publications specifically for allotment holders did not start until the 1880s, with the introduction of cheaper magazines like *Amateur Gardening*. Before that, most of the information on allotment gardening was aimed at the people who organised allotment schemes.

Not all rented gardens were allotments, however; there were pleasure gardens on the outskirts of towns which were more like present day allotment-type gardens found in many European countries, where families often have simple homes and stay overnight. These pleasure gardens were usually let to the families of middle class tradesmen in towns and they probably became disused when such tradesmen moved away from their places of work and bought houses in the new suburbs. The distinction between these so-called 'guinea gardens' in Birmingham is explained in David Crouch and Colin Ward's, *The Allotment*:

There was little similarity in either function or appearance between the 'guinea garden' and its successor, the allotment. 'Guinea gardens' had provided a recreational opportunity for middle-class citizens living nearby, and appear to have been cultivated as both ornamental and productive gardens in developing industrial towns such as Coventry and Sheffield, as well as in Birmingham. By contrast, urban allotments arose out of their rural counterpart, providing non-agricultural labourers (many of whom had only recently moved from the country into the town), with the opportunity to supplement their low wages by growing fruit and vegetables. Allotments were introduced into urban areas from the early eighteenth century onwards and so existed alongside 'guinea gardens' for at least fifty years, but the two concepts were so different in character and clientele that neither seems to have exerted much influence on the other⁷.

Those who did not or could not garden themselves often found an interest in flowers through botany and nature study, which could be regarded as an improving pursuit for teaching children. Country walks were popular and flowers could be gathered for drawing, pressing or as ornaments. Women carried posies at formal evening occasions and wore flowers pinned to their dresses or in their hair. Men wore flowers as buttonholes: Joseph Chamberlain always wore one of his own orchids. When in London, he had them sent down from his home in Birmingham⁸. Plants were used as interior decoration. They were grown and trained to fit windows and balconies and potted vines were even trained to grow up through dining tables so that guests could pick fresh grapes to eat immediately (see *Illustration 8D*⁹). Flowers themselves became a desirable commodity in towns where little grew. Flower sellers delivered flowers and potted plants from door to door and elaborate containers were designed to keep flowers fresh and clean from soot and grime in the air, which even penetrated indoors.

Gathering flowers was not a new interest in the nineteenth century of course; it had been indulged in for centuries. But in the increasingly urban environment and with the new availability of foreign flowers, it seems that they became something of an obsession. A keen gardener could produce or collect enough plants to decorate the home throughout the year. Mrs C. W. Earle described her London living room in January in *Pot-Pourri from a Surrey Garden* to show what could be done at the worst time of the year. It contained the following: dried honesty and helichrysum tied on to bamboo sticks, silk bags filled with lavender, lemon verbena and geranium leaves for scent, pots of ivy dug from the hedges, two kinds of aspidistra, two kinds of India-rubber plants, two more pot plants and a palm, branches of winter cherry in

⁷ Harry Thorpe, Elizabeth B. Galloway and Lynda M. Evans, *The Rationalisation of Urban Allotment Systems - a Case Study of Birmingham* (Birmingham University, Department of Geography, 1977), quoted in David Crouch and Colin Ward, *The Allotment* (Mushroom Bookshop, 1994), pp. 66-67.

⁸ Chamberlain had thirteen glasshouses devoted to orchids at his home, Highbury, at Moor Green, Birmingham. The grounds were later turned into a public park. For more details of the Chamberlain family and their horticultural interests, see Brent Elliott, 'A Political Family', *The Garden* (January 1992), p. 37.

⁹ For instructions as to how this was achieved, see Jennifer Davies, *The Victorian Kitchen Garden* (BBC Books, 1991), pp. 128, 129.

a Japanese vase, branches of plum blossom in an Indian vase, some greenhouse flowers in a glass vase, scented geranium leaves in water with another greenhouse flower, *Chimonanthus*. Then there were other glass jars holding Neapolitan violets, roman hyacinths, ivy-leaved geraniums, and amaryllis from Mauritius. By the window were branches of cut magnolia. She went on to describe how she grew wheat or canary-seeds on wet moss to provide green window or table decorations and how acorns can be grown in the same way, or suspended in a glass jar¹⁰. Although Mrs Earle was a wealthy woman, many of her ideas could be used by anyone at almost no cost.

The garden became a status symbol: an outward presentation to the world of one's wealth. Like the appearance of one's home, wife and children, a front garden was what one showed to the world. The style of front gardens was, and still is, predominantly formal and 'safe' in style, but H.J. Dyos in *Victorian Suburb*, his study of Camberwell in south London, said that neighbours could judge a home by the appearance of the front garden:

The occupiers themselves also had plenty of scope for little acts of symbolism, as, for example...the arrangement of the front garden...The idiom in which these acts were performed varied from class to class. The aspidistra half-concealed by carefully draped lace curtains, the privet hedge of carefully determined height, the geometrical perfection of minute flower-beds edged with London Pride, the window-box of trailing fern and periwinkle – these were some of the elements in one situation. Ivy-scaled walls, great round clumps of laurels, rhododendrons, lilac and laburnum, lawns infested with sparrows and set with pedestalled urns, and gravelled drives – these were the elements in another. It would be a mistake to think of these features solely in terms of personal taste. They gave scope, it is true, for the outward expression of romantic idiosyncrasies, but they were equally emblems of different shades of respectability, some of suburbia's badges of rank, and their collective expressions was a subtle acknowledgement of a locality's status in suburban society¹¹.

Compare that modern opinion with advice given on front gardens in 1857:

Here is just the place for some bold masses of evergreens with a few deciduous trees on the border next the footway. A breadth of lawn, with a bold walk or drive to the house, may be graceful in themselves, but in front of portico, steps, and windows, there is a thin look about it unless shrubs be added. A central compartment of the lawn is usually allotted to hollies, lauristinus, aucuba japonica, tree box, rhododendron, common and Portugal laurel, snow-berry, and such like shrubby-growing evergreens, and these look rich when they get to their full size and well massed together....The borders may also be full of shrubs, for this front court should present a *fullness* of character, to give the house a substantial aspect...In a north or east aspect such a mode of planting a forecourt would afford shelter for flowers, which, of course, should be grown on those borders which were quite within view of the windows. The flowers most suitable for this purpose are the old-fashioned perennials, with a few bedded greenhouse plants, such as geraniums, fuchsias, calceolarias, and myrtles, but high-class flowers or glowing masses of contracted colours are, in my opinion, quite out of place here, as much as wire arches and rustic baskets would be. Architectural embellishments are admissible, but they should be sparingly used, for what gives perfect

¹⁰ Mrs C. W. Earle, *Pot-Pourri from a Surrey Garden* (Smith, Elder 1897, repr. Century, 1988), pp.7-13.

¹¹ H. J. Dyos, *Victorian Suburb* (Leicester University Press, 1961).

grace and luxuriance to the private grounds has an air of ostentation when exposed to the daily gaze of an 'admiring public'¹².

The back garden, however, if one had one¹³, was private; an enclosed space that was like another room. There a gardener could indulge in more individual tastes and perhaps experiment with new ideas. Fashions in gardening developed: ferneries, roteries, rosaries, bedding plants, sub-tropical gardens, carpet bedding, alpines and rockeries, Japanese gardens: they were all there in the nineteenth century. It was the fashion element in gardening that stopped it being simply a way of out-doing other people. If everyone enjoyed it, why should they not all do something different and enjoy competing? But how did ordinary, untrained people learn gardening and find out about these fads?

Information for would-be gardeners was difficult to come by in the early nineteenth century. Amateurs could use the instruction manuals for professionals, but they were complicated and steeped in old traditions, giving the impression that gardening was a mystical art and not to be attempted by the unskilled. By the 1850s the popular cheap papers interspersed 'window gardening' and 'nature notes' with etiquette and short stories, pet bird-keeping and popular art. Such a paper was the *National Magazine*, published by John Saunders and Westland Marston from 1856, and priced at tenpence a month. It featured Shirley Hibberd editing a section called 'The Home under Improved Arrangements' and H. Noel Humphreys (1810-1879) writing essays on popular subjects. Hibberd's subject matter included Wardian cases and bee-keeping as well as gardening. Both he and Humphreys went on to become much better known when they later concentrated on gardening writing as a career. As we shall see, gardening papers started as papers for professionals and then for specialists, such as florists, but by the 1860s amateurs were recognised as serious readers and at last they obtained the advice they needed.

Science and technology were instrumental in creating the industrial revolution and also contributed to new inventions which changed the face of gardening in the nineteenth century. Glasshouses and conservatories eventually became cheap enough for the middle classes in terraced houses in the suburbs. The invention of the wrought iron glazing bar by John Loudon in 1816 was the first real advance, and the process for making sheet glass, introduced in 1847, meant that glasshouses could be designed in a more practical way, with less chance of the plants suffering. Before sheet glass, glasshouses were built out of

¹² Shirley Hibberd, *Rustic Adornments for Homes of Taste* (Groombridge and Sons, 1857, repr. Century 1987), pp. 361-363. **Illustration 2B** shows Shirley Hibberd's own front garden.

¹³ The small front garden and larger back garden are usual in London, but in some northern towns, such as Newcastle-upon-Tyne, many Victorian houses were built with large front gardens and small back yards.

small panes of glass in a spherical shape, which was supposed to make the most of the sun's rays. The early form of glasshouse can be seen in **Illustration 7C**, whereas **Illustrations 12 A-C** show later glasshouses as used by commercial nurseries. Once larger sheets of glass were available, the rectangular shape with the pitched roof appeared. Glass tax was abolished in 1845, which brought the prices down, and no doubt visits to the Crystal Palace, with its royal patronage, gave many people the idea that a glasshouse of their own would enhance their status in society very well. More important to the commercial growers were the improvements in heating systems. Originally coal fires were used to keep glasshouses warm, the smoke from which often killed the plants. Hot water pipes warmed by boilers were a better prospect and much easier to regulate. They not only enabled tropical plants to be grown successfully, but also made it possible to produce the 'bedding plants' so beloved of the Victorian gardeners and produced in their millions. Bedding plants were mainly plants from temperate climates which were colourful and easy to propagate. They were hybridised and commercialised by nurserymen to provide a huge variety of shapes and colours for use in formal flower beds. They could only be produced by being grown on early in the season under glass, ready for planting out in early summer. Then cuttings would be taken in late summer for growing under glass through the winter. They were popularised by being seen in displays in parks and were successful in polluted atmospheres because they were thrown away after one season, by which time they would have succumbed to the sooty conditions.

Chemicals were products of the industrial revolution which could help gardeners, in the form of fertilisers and pesticides. Experiments were carried out trying different manures. The best manure was Peruvian guano, and the story of guano illustrates how Victorian gardeners could become obsessed with something once it became popular¹⁴. Guano is the accumulated bird-droppings found on islands off the South American coast. It is very high in nitrogen because there is no rain to wash it away. Although known about by the British since the beginning of the nineteenth century, it only arrived in large quantities in Britain in about 1841. It was offered for sale at about £25 per ton, which was too expensive for many people. However, after prolonged negotiations with the Peruvian government a good price was agreed and over 250,000 tons were imported in 1845. There was much discussion as to how long the supply would last, and once the Americans started to import it, the British feared that there would soon be none left. The British navy was sent out to look for other deposits and then British manufacturers started to try to produce substitutes. 'Canary guano' was produced in East Anglia, presumably from canaries'

¹⁴ The story of guano and several other manures is told in Tom Carter, *The Victorian Garden* (Bell & Hyman, 1985), pp. 109-115.

droppings (see **Illustration 5B**). 'Native guano' was the name given to dried city sewage in the hope that it would be popular. Suppliers of the real guano of course advertised it with a warning to be careful to buy only the genuine article. It was depicted as being clean enough even for ladies to use.

Pesticides were the other product that could help gardeners. They were not subject to rigorous testing as they are today and many lethal poisons were used as weedkillers (see **Illustration 5A**). Nicotine was one of the favourite, and efficient, insecticides. A whiff of smoke from a cigar was recognised as a convenient way to rid the greenhouse of greenfly. Rubber led to the development of garden hoses, which made watering large gardens and parks much easier. Any number of inventions were advertised for trapping insects, syringing and spraying (important when plants were covered in soot) and for making gardeners' lives simpler. The lawn mower was probably the most revolutionary, and useful, of all (developed from a machine for cutting the pile of fabric). Patents were taken out for all kinds of decorative pots, containers, edging tiles and trellises.

Improvements in transport and communications meant that horticultural shows for specialist societies could be held all over the country and people were no longer restricted to their own towns or villages. Plants and equipment could be ordered by post and delivered by railway to the nearest station. It was even possible to buy greenhouses, in the same way as we buy flat-packed furniture by mail order today:

I saw plainly that Sir Joseph Paxton's patent was the thing for me to patronize, and by means of two letters to Mr Hereman, to settle the size and the price of the house, all preliminaries were settled, and before the postman who took the second letter ordering the house to be supplied could have fairly rested from his journey, there stood at the frontgate a waggon piled to the height of the first-floor windows with the bran new span lights, all glazed and painted, with the doors, ventilators, bolts, screws, everything down to the penny nails, so that with the aid of a couple of carpenters the house was put up, in less time and with about a fiftieth part of the labour required to print this little book about roses¹⁵.

Nurserymen started to advertise their speciality plants and seeds countrywide. Popular publishing produced a medium for advertising (see the advertisement for the Paxtonian glasshouse in **Illustration 6**) as well as a means of communication between gardeners who could discuss their problems together and answer questions from people they had never met. Knowledge could be imparted to all and shared.

The nineteenth century was a time for education and self-improvement. Horticultural societies abounded. Professional gardeners formed societies similar to mechanics' institutes where young gardeners could

¹⁵ Shirley Hibberd, *The Rose Book* (Groombridge and Sons, 1864), p.204.

listen to lectures and borrow books. Gentlemen formed horticultural societies, like the eighteenth century learned societies. The gentry promoted village flower shows including musical entertainment and a chance to mingle with the crowds, show off new clothes and make acquaintances. The florists continued their specialist shows, but became more commercialised and semi-professional, and their skills contributed to the richness of variety in the seed and flower industry which continued into the twentieth century. All the societies of the earlier part of the century were restricted by social groups, and it will be seen that the earliest periodicals were started in order to advance the interests of one group or another. The Horticultural Society, started in 1804, tried to maintain its exclusiveness by discouraging florists from taking part in its shows and not allowing non-members into its gardens. It fell into serious financial difficulties in the middle of the century, but its fortunes recovered when Prince Albert became president of the society and a Royal Charter was granted to it in 1861. This patronage undoubtedly improved its standing, encouraging more people to take an interest in gardening because it had the approval of the royal family. The society also became willing to accept realistic subscriptions from a wider membership.

By the end of the century, gardening had brought people together. National societies were formed in the 1880s for those interested in growing particular plants, which meant that professionals and amateurs of all social classes could meet and compete together. It was no longer unacceptable for a working person to grow exotic plants or strawberries or grapes, if he could afford them and had the time to care for them. Conversely, the wealthy were taking pride in their herbaceous borders consisting of plants that had hitherto been the mainstay of cottage gardens. Small conservatories appeared on the back of many houses in the suburbs. Greenhouses and lawn mowers were cheap and commonplace. It will be seen that in 1858 the *Gardeners' Chronicle* defined an amateur gardener as someone who loves gardening for its own sake, even though he may be able to afford a servant to assist him, and that Shirley Hibberd of the *Gardener's Magazine* claimed that gardeners, however wealthy, took pride in doing manual work themselves. Gardening magazines of the 1890s even became boring in their uniformity: everyone was interested in the same plants and were all going to the same shows at the Crystal Palace. Gardening had something for everyone and seemed incapable of being criticised as a social activity. It was healthy, educational, productive and decorative. It provided an outlet for the desire for ostentatious wealth and novelty. With a garden one could have something different and something new every year, or indeed several times a year, or one could perpetuate traditions and recreate the gardens of one's childhood. In the nineteenth century it became available to all, not just the wealthy. But as a spectacle it could never have happened if it had not

been for the number and variety of new plants introduced and reproduced before and throughout the nineteenth century.

Chapter 2. The Introduction of New Plants into British Horticulture in the Nineteenth Century.

Huge numbers of new plants became increasingly available in the course of the nineteenth century, and many new varieties of well-known plants were produced. A retail trade in plants, seeds and equipment gradually developed to cater for the needs of a mass market. There were two ways in which new plants made an impact on the market in the nineteenth century: exotic plants arrived through commercial nurserymen, and new hybrids were bred by experts known as florists.

Section (i) The growth of the nursery trade.

Since medieval times herbalists had collected plants for their medicinal or useful properties, and the science of botany developed when they started to examine their structure and classify them into family groups. Herbalists learned the best ways to cultivate and propagate plants but were not necessarily interested in their decorative value. Imported plants were, of course, not new to Britain in the nineteenth century. Some had come with the Romans and many had been brought from the middle east and even the far east at the time of the Crusades. However, there was a great increase in new plants in the eighteenth century and a tidal wave of them in the nineteenth. In the eighteenth century, many aristocrats started collections of foreign plants. Those from the Cape area of South Africa proved particularly popular. For instance, Sir Richard Colt Hoare (1758-1838) of Stourhead in Wiltshire started a collection of pelargoniums and other members of the *Geraniaceae* family in 1809, which increased to over six hundred varieties by 1821. Many of them cross bred naturally in the temperate conditions of the glasshouses and at first botanists found it difficult to distinguish some of the hybrids from the species. Colt Hoare's collection was used as the basis for a five volume study of the *Geraniaceae* by Robert Sweet (1783-1835), published between 1820 and 1825. Many of the plants were obtained through the nurseryman James Colvill the younger (c.1778-1832) of Chelsea, and also through the Royal Botanic Gardens at Kew. A large number of nursery businesses were built up at this time, relying on the patronage of the wealthy, rather than simply selling retail. With a wealthy backer a nurseryman would be prepared to send out plant collectors to discover new plants and also to find better sources of plants that were already known and selling well. It was the popularity of plant collecting among the wealthy that began the fashion for flower

gardening. By the early nineteenth century glasshouses had become easier to construct and maintain, both for nurserymen and their clients.

Another nursery that prospered in the trade to the wealthy was that of the Loddiges family in Hackney, east London. It was started in the 1770s, but was at the height of its success between 1820 and 1850. It had experimental glasshouses, a stove house and its own arboretum. It specialised in unusual trees and shrubs and so rare were some of its plants that nearby Abney Park Cemetery, laid out by the nursery in 1840, still contains species that have never been properly identified¹ (see Illustration 7A for Abney Park and 7B for Loddiges nursery). Unlike some nurseries that continued to flourish until the end of the century, Loddiges never reached the later stage of catering to the middle classes. Because it was sited so close to central London, it suffered badly from pollution in the 1850s and closed down when the lease of the land on which the nursery stood ran out. Because of the value of the land for building it would not have been cost-effective to have renewed the lease. Much of its huge collection of palm trees and ferns was transported through the streets of London to Kew Gardens, and houses were built on the land.

The skills of gardeners developed as they learned to cultivate the new plants and keep them alive in the primitive conditions before glasshouses and their heating systems were fully developed. Professionally trained gardeners had learnt their trade in British gardens, growing vegetables, fruit, flowers and shrubs, which were perhaps technically not native species, but which had been cultivated in Britain for many years. They found new challenges in imported trees and exotic plants like orchids from South America and Asia, and even the less demanding tender or hardy plants from South Africa or North America. It is not surprising that Loudon, writing in 1826², said that one of the aims of his *Gardener's Magazine* was to rejuvenate the ailing British orchards. Many of the best young gardeners had deserted the provinces for the exotic nurseries in London where they could learn to care for the new plants and then put themselves on the job market at a higher price.

The most enterprising young men not only learned to grow the new plants, but went out to find them. The Lobb brothers of Cornwall were good examples. They were trained at the Veitch nurseries in Exeter³ from where twenty-two plant hunters were sent out and whose finds transformed the British landscape

¹ The nursery and the cemetery are described in David Solman, *Loddiges of Hackney, The Largest Hothouse in the World* (Hackney Society, 1995).

² *Gardener's Magazine*, January 1826, p.1.

and remain familiar to us today. William Lobb (1809-1864) undertook two journeys round South America, starting in 1840 at the age of thirty-one, and among other things sent back three thousand seeds of the monkey puzzle tree. He also found passion flowers and calceolarias, which with their bright yellow unusually shaped flowers came to be one of the most popular plants for bedding schemes. Later trips took him to the western United States, collecting Douglas firs and Wellingtonias. He died in California aged fifty-five. Thomas Lobb (1811-1894) concentrated on the East Indies and northern India, finding pitcher plants, ferns, orchids and rhododendrons, as well as many foliage plants, popular in Victorian times, but gaining a new lease of life in modern centrally heated homes and offices. He managed to return to Britain and retired to Devon, surviving the amputation of a leg.

Plant collecting increased in the early part of the nineteenth century partly because the improvements in glasshouses made it easier to keep the plants once established in Europe, but also because of the introduction of the Wardian case in the 1830s, which was like a miniature greenhouse used to transport plants on the decks of ships. The case was like a wooden box at the base, with a glazed roof above (see **Illustration 8A**). Some of the originals can still be seen in the Chelsea Physic Garden in London. Before Wardian cases were used, plants usually perished because of the exposure to the elements; previously, the most successful plants to be imported into Europe were those that could be brought in a dormant state, such as roots and bulbs. The discovery of the principle behind the Wardian case is attributed to Dr Nathaniel Bagshaw Ward (1791-1868), who noticed how a green plant had grown by accident in an enclosed glass jar he had been using for hatching out a chrysalis. He realised that the plant could grow in its own sealed microclimate, and that this could be used in difficult conditions to protect the plant⁴. Not only were they used to transport decorative and economically important plants throughout the world, but were also used decoratively, inside houses, where plants could be protected from the sooty air in towns⁵ (see **Illustration 8B**).

Veitch's nursery made good use of the Lobb brothers' plants, at first selling them as rarities to the wealthy, but later finding a ready market as the interests of the middle classes in gardening as a hobby grew along with their affluence and leisure time. In 1843 monkey puzzles were selling at £10 for a

³ Information on Veitch's nurseries and the Lobb brothers comes from Toby Musgrave, Chris Gardner and Will Musgrave, *The Plant Hunters* (Ward Lock, 1998).

⁴ Ward's findings were published in *On the Growth of Plants in Closely Glazed Cases* in 1842.

⁵ In fact, it seems that the cases were ideally not totally sealed, but to be most successful should be ventilated like greenhouses: Shirley Hibberd, in *Rustic Adornments for Homes of Taste* (1857, repr.

hundred, but the rare orchid *Vanda caerulea* cost £100 per plant. In 1854 a Wellingtonia seedling cost two guineas, or 12 guineas a dozen⁶. Later in the century, however, no suburban garden was complete without its monkey puzzle on the lawn. Ferns became so commonplace that people went out collecting the native varieties that grew wild in Britain, so much so that many became extinct by the end of the century. This problem was appreciated by naturalists, if not collectors:

It is not many years since I saw amongst a heap of dried mosses, ferns, grasses, &c, in the possession of a lady, a *sheet* of Tunbridge fern nearly a yard square. This had been torn from its native site, carefully rolled up like a piece of old blanket, and put away, and was afterwards brought forth as a trophy, and preserved as a memorial of the days "when we went gipsying." The value of that sheet when fresh might have been about £5, and no doubt any nurseryman could make a larger sum of a good square yard of Tunbridge fern. Such reckless destruction, such base contempt for the value set upon a rare fern by those who understand its history and its habits, and appreciate the interest that arises out of its beauty and rarity combined, is to be considered as a crime; and though there is no law to punish the perpetrator, except in cases where there might be an action for trespass or wilful damage, it is the duty of every conservator of our native flora to visit crimes of this kind with the sternest disapprobation, accompanied with truthful explanations of the injury done alike to the natural scenery and to science by such acts of spoliation⁷.

As for orchids, by the 1880s they were the staple fare of many commercial nurseries in all the big towns. Veitch's Chelsea nursery, which became famous for its orchids, had opened in 1853. Another nursery that was well known for orchids was that of Benjamin Samuel Williams (1824-1890) in Holloway, north London. Williams had learnt about orchids working in the gardens of Charles B. Warner (d. 1869) at Hoddesdon in Hertfordshire. In 1851 he was asked to write a series of articles in the *Gardeners' Chronicle* called 'Orchids for the Million' to explain the difficulties of growing what were then still quite rare plants. The articles were republished as *The Orchid-Grower's Manual*, which remained the standard work on the subject throughout Williams' lifetime. In 1854 he set up a nursery in partnership with another gardener in Seven Sisters Road, Holloway. In 1861 the two partners set up separate businesses, Williams opening the Victoria Nursery near the present Archway station, and later expanding with another site further down Holloway Road, the Paradise Nursery. The nurseries together had almost three acres under glass and as well as orchids specialised in ferns and other foliage greenhouse plants⁸ (see Illustration 12B).

Century, 1987) goes into much detail about the use of Wardian cases, and their heated counterpart, the Waltonian case: see pp. 133-174 (and see Illustration 8C).

⁶ See *The Plant Hunters*, pp. 138, 145, 148.

⁷ Shirley Hibberd, *The Fern Garden*, 9th edn (Groombridge and Sons, 1881), p.8.

⁸ Further details about Williams and his work can be found in Brent Elliott, 'Proprietor of Paradise', *The Garden* (June 1992), p.273.

Although exotic plants were dramatic in their effect and became popular in conservatories and parlours, it was the colourful bedding plants that had most impact in gardens and showed the skills of the hybridisers, both in selectively breeding plants that were the right size and shape and could stand up to the British climate, and also in cultivating the thousands of plants needed for each seasonal display in every large garden or park. Tom Carter, in *The Victorian Garden* describes the numbers of plants becoming available:

Bedding-out was a response to the introduction of many plants, mainly half-hardy annuals, in the 1820s and 1830s. Writing in 1859, Robert Thompson explained: 'About the year 1830, in consequence of the many new annuals which the Horticultural Society introduced...chiefly from the west coast of America, a change began to take place.' (*The Gardener's Assistant*.) In a list of flower seeds advertised for 1836 in *The Floricultural Cabinet*, 74 out of 150 were recent introductions from the Americas – principally Chile, Mexico and California. Some, like *Penstemon campanulatum* and *Zinnia elegans* date from the 1790s, but 42 had been introduced between 1820 and 1829, and 22 between 1830 and 1834. They include many plants which were to become favourites: argemone, alstroemeria, clarkia, eschscholtzia, nemophila, oenothera, petunia, salpiglossis and schizanthus⁹.

Penelope Hobhouse, in *Plants in Garden History*, points out that in the first part of the nineteenth century nurseries grew up and made available large numbers of new plants:

The proliferation of nursery gardens in the period around 1800 was considerable and made distribution of newly introduced plants speedy. Some 58 nurseryman and 35 seedsmen were recorded within a ten-mile radius of London in the last two decades of the eighteenth century; by 1822 Loudon regarded 36 firms in Greater London alone worthy of his mention, and by 1837, the year of Queen Victoria's accession, *The Floral Calendar* listed 11 principal seedsmen as well as 19 nurserymen 'whose gardens are within the distance of a convenient morning's drive'. Many of the 150 main businesses listed for the British Isles, and individual nurserymen, played an important role in the development of horticulture, not only making good plants available to the public, but investing time, money and knowledge in research on plants and their culture and acclimatization¹⁰.

However, by the end of the century, the craze for bedding plants had destroyed many people's interest in the great variety of new plants:

During the century the number of plants which easily acclimatized to European conditions multiplied a thousand-fold. The influx of plants and the growth of competent nurseries to distribute them led to a huge expansion in popular and quite modest suburban gardening. However, as the century developed, the clients proved less selective and seemed content with quantities of 'improved' performance plants rather than experimenting with new species. The result, noted by horticultural writers and journalists at the time, as planting styles, and particularly schemes employing soft-stemmed perennials and annuals, evolved during the middle years of the century into a series of prescribed formulas, was that the actual range and availability of these same plants diminished. Nurseries came to offer *less* variety, reflecting the realities of contemporary demand¹¹.

⁹ Tom Carter, *The Victorian Garden* (Bell & Hyman, 1984), p. 129.

¹⁰ Penelope Hobhouse, *Plants in Garden History* (Pavilion, 1994), p. 227.

¹¹ *Plants in Garden History*, pp. 228-229.

Section (ii). Florists and florists' societies.

One of the skills that gardeners developed was accelerating or retarding growth of plants so as to have them ready at exactly the right time for each display. These skills were not only known to the professionals. Traditional European plants had been hybridised and propagated by specialist growers, known as florists, since the seventeenth century or earlier. They grew flowers for competitions, usually in public houses in market towns or urban areas as part of florists' feasts held several times a year.

There are different ideas about how florists' societies¹² originated and developed. They are sometimes said to have been associated with particular trades or guilds and Huguenot refugees were thought to have helped popularise floriculture and perhaps introduced some of the flowers. It seems from the work of Ruth Duthie, however, that floriculture may have developed through groups of professional gardeners meeting together to discuss all kinds of things about gardening, and who simply enjoyed competing with each other in breeding new varieties of flowers. This occupation was taken up in the eighteenth century by craftsmen and artisans who worked at home and could keep an eye on their plants during the working day. It was a cheap, pleasurable occupation and money could be made by selling cuttings from a good plant to other florists. Prizes in competitions were usually silver spoons and copper kettles, but it is possible that money was also gambled on the results of the competitions, as it was on almost everything else.

Some plants commanded higher prices than others, and tulips remained expensive even in the nineteenth century, and could be much sought after:

Glenny mentions a Bethnal Green weaver who bought a tulip for ten pounds, paid in weekly instalments: 'Although this man's family were almost wanting common necessities, he never missed payment of the three shillings until the debt was satisfied.' An 'Old Florist' tells the same story in *The Annals of Horticulture* a few years later as a caution against buying on credit; this time it is a five-pound tulip, five shillings at a time – 'the facilities afforded him of indulging in his fancy, without first getting the money, was his ruin.' Clearly, tulips were grown by working men only with considerable sacrifice¹³.

¹² Information on florists generally can be found in Ruth Duthie, *Florists' Flowers and Societies* (Shire Publications Ltd, 1988), Ruth E. Duthie, 'English Florists' Societies and Feasts in the Seventeenth and first half of the Eighteenth Centuries', *Garden History* (Spring 1982), p.17; Ruth Duthie, 'Florists' Societies and Feasts after 1750', *Garden History* (Spring 1984), p.11; Miles Hadfield, *A History of British Gardening* (Penguin, 1985), pp. 261-267; and Tom Carter, *The Victorian Garden*, Chapter 6.

¹³ *The Victorian Garden*, pp. 158-9.

The high value of good plants sometimes led to fraud. In the early editions of the *Gardener's Magazine*, Loudon warned florists about fraudulent travelling salesmen who appeared from nowhere in villages claiming to be selling roots of well known florists' flowers¹⁴. The *Midland Florist*¹⁵ cited examples of floricultural imposters, including a man pretending to be a Frenchman who sold 'plants of the most unheard-of colours', which later turned out to be common wild plants. There is also considerable correspondence in the *Gardeners' Chronicle* in the 1840s about new seedling plants being exhibited as perfect new varieties, which when grown on turn out to be leggy weaklings.

The traditional florists' flowers were the hyacinth, auricula, tulip, polyanthus, anemone, carnation and pink. They could all be grown from seed and also propagated vegetatively. This meant that new varieties could be produced by cross-pollination and then, if the flower was what they were looking for, the plants could be easily multiplied from cuttings. The aim was to produce a flower that was perfectly round and complied with the complicated rules of each society. Many types developed for each flower, according to the patterns on the petals, so for instance carnations were divided into picotees, flakes or bizarres. Names of varieties were usually taken from national heroes, such as Lord Nelson or the Duke of Wellington, from royalty, or from the florist's own family members. Flowers were usually exhibited as potted plants or as cut flowers in glass jars. The exception was tulips. They were planted in beds, laid out according to variety, and the judges progressed as if 'on circuit', going round the different florists over the course of several days. Transporting plants, other than tulips, from gardens to shows called for extreme care, and florists developed special compartmentalised boxes to carry their plants safely. These precautions were in addition to the arrangements they made to protect the plants from extremes of weather. Too much sun would bring on growth too quickly and might fade or damage the flowers, so shading with 'tiffany' (a type of fine hessian) was often used. Poorer florists would not be able to afford glasshouses and therefore used turf pits for winter warmth, as well as small glass frames and hand-lights. Blankets and matting were often put on the plants on cold nights. Several items of florists' equipment can be seen in *Illustration 9A and B*. If a florist was affluent enough, or had enough time, he would often construct a semi-permanent frame over his tulip beds, fitted with blinds for use in sunny weather. Tom Carter mentions that the most elaborate frames were large enough to allow for a path around the bed and a row of seats at the end for admiring visitors¹⁶. This brings to mind the image of a theatrical performance when the tulips were on

¹⁴ He cites occurrences at Reading, Hull and Hereford: see *Gardener's Magazine*, February 1834, pp. 56-58.

¹⁵ *Midland Florist*, 1849, p. 152.

¹⁶ See *The Victorian Garden*, p. 160.

show. It is similar to the use of 'auricula theatres' to show off auriculas. The theatre consisted of a wooden frame surrounding a series of tiered steps, which would be covered in black velvet before placing the plants in their clean terracotta pots upon them. It was a particularly effective way of showing auriculas because of their subtle colours and intricate patterning. A similar effect is regularly achieved at shows in modern times by growers of African violets and sweet peas, who often use black velvet to show off the glowing purples, blues and pinks of those flowers.

One of the best documented florists' societies was the Ancient Society of York Florists, formed in 1768.

Ruth Duthie made a special study of it¹⁷:

When the society was formed, a full set of rules was agreed upon and it was laid down that the annual feast should take place on the day of the first show of the year, when prizes were given for the finest auricula, polyanthus and hyacinth. The tulip show followed in May, that for the ranunculus in June, while the carnation show was held in August. It was not until 1805 that a pink show, in July, was added. For a few years from 1810, there was a class for anemones at the tulip meeting; thus for those years all eight classic florists' flowers were exhibited. During the first sixty years no other flowers were exhibited; however gooseberry competitions were introduced in 1804, but were separate from the main shows and later faded out.

Early in the nineteenth century, separate classes for different forms of the flowers were introduced, such as ones for self-coloured, green- or china-edged auriculas or for plain, or laced pinks: indeed so many sub-divisions were made, and so many prizes awarded within each class, that by 1857 at least 340 were to be distributed that year¹⁸.

By the early nineteenth century many florists had become full or part-time nurserymen and there were few amateurs still competing. Ruth Duthie has put forward the reasons why the societies died out:

In 1934, W. Roberts [in the *Journal of the RHS* 1934, pp.236-48] wrote that at the time when the Horticultural Society (the future RHS) held its first exhibition in 1827, the old florists' societies had become 'parochial in character. They were a kind of set-off to cock-fighting and other "sports" of anything but an elevating type.' He considered that the establishment of the Horticultural Society on a 'dignified and national basis led to a vast increase in the number of horticultural societies in the provinces and sounded the death knell of the Florists' Feasts.'

As early as the 1820s, Thomas Hogg [in *A Concise and Practical Treatise on the growth and culture of the Carnation, etc.* (1823, 4th edn), p. 286], who had personal knowledge of the florists' societies, gave a fictional account of the experiences of a novice florist at a feast from which he came away disappointed, having spent most of his money standing bumpers for the members who had still failed to give a name to his fine seedling. It may well have been that the interest in convivial parties had rather ousted love for their flowers, but I believe that the rise of the new, enlarged societies was mainly due to the increase in numbers of well-trained head-gardeners and the increasing importance of the glasshouses which these gardeners cared for, and used for growing fine fruit as well as a large range of tender flowering plants. The exclusive interest in florists' flowers had become too

¹⁷ See Ruth E. Duthie, 'The Ancient Society of York Florists', *York Historian* 3 (1980).

¹⁸ Duthie, *Garden History* (Spring 1984), p.31.

restrictive, and indeed florists themselves about this time added pansies, then dahlias and soon a number of other flowers to those for which they held competitions¹⁹.

Tom Carter adds another reason for the decline of the societies:

Exploitation by dealers was one of the main reasons for the decline of floriculture in general in the 1840s. The intention of the founders of large, centralised societies had been to benefit both commercial and amateur interests, but, although they succeeded for a time in dispelling the unnecessary mystique of floristry and exposing the malpractices associated with it, the professionals resented the autocratic manner in which the societies were governed and felt that they raised too many obstacles in their business dealings. The Metropolitan was particularly severe in its testing of new varieties, and tended to exclude as 'mere novelties' many of the strains which dealers hoped would be most profitable, and Glenny's argumentative nature contributed to the ill-feeling. Even *The Gardener and Practical Florist* seems to have been embarrassed: 'We consider Mr Glenny's papers among the most valuable we have, when he confines himself to Floriculture, or, indeed, to any practical subject; and were it not for the difficulty of getting him to write without censuring somebody else, we should have a good deal more of his writing than we have.' There were similar problems at the Friendly Society of Florists, founded like the Metropolitan in 1832, whose president, John Goldham, 'king of the florists', had earlier been described by Loudon: 'This gentleman is actively engaged a great part of the day, and we may say night, in effecting the most useful reforms in the fishmarket at Billingsgate, and the remainder of his time he devotes to the carrying on of what we cannot better designate, than by calling a tulip manufactory, at Pentonville.' (*The Gardener's Magazine*, 1827.)²⁰

Florists had taken on many of the new plants as soon as they were freely available. Dahlias, chrysanthemums, pelargoniums and even hollyhocks started to be grown in infinite variety according to rules, and new societies were created to cater for them. By the 1840s there was a 'holy grail' for pelargonium growers in the form of 'the scarlet geranium'. Everyone wanted to grow a perfect, bright red flower which was sturdy enough to withstand the British climate and could be easily propagated. Of course, by the twenty-first century, fashionable gardeners claim to be fed up with this stock plant of window boxes and park displays, but throughout the nineteenth century it was sought for but not found until almost 1900, when a French variety called 'Paul Crampel' appeared. This and 'Gustav Emich', which was planted in profusion outside Buckingham Palace, supposedly to match the guardsmen's uniforms, were the two most successful bedding geraniums ever, and were produced before Mendel's work on genetics was recognised. The science behind it was not understood, but the techniques were known to many gardeners²¹.

¹⁹ Duthie, *Garden History* (Spring 1984), p.35.

²⁰ *The Victorian Garden*, pp. 164-165.

²¹ One of the most skilled gardeners producing pelargoniums was Peter Grieve (1811-1895), head gardener at Culford Hall, near Bury St Edmunds, Suffolk. He perfected the coloured-leaved varieties with foliage patterned in white, gold, red and brown, which were very useful in bedding schemes. For details of his life and the plants he produced, see Mary E. Campbell, *Fancy-leaved Pelargoniums, Peter Grieve and After* (British Pelargonium and Geranium Society, 1990).

Although, as will be seen, the establishment, in the form of the Horticultural Society, was reluctant to accept florists in their shows and treat them as serious gardeners, it is noticeable that almost all the advertisements for flowers in the gardening magazines in the mid to late nineteenth century feature florists' flowers. Later, when the large commercial nurseries developed to cater for the trade to the middle class amateurs and the individual florists disappeared, their legacy lived on in the enormous variety of flowers available to the amateur. Seed catalogues of the late nineteenth century contain huge numbers of varieties for customers to choose from. Reproductions of extracts from nineteenth century seed catalogues can be found in *The Victorian Garden Catalogue* (see Illustration 10). They show, for example, that Sutton's Flower Seed List for 1892 offered thirteen different types of campanula and thirteen different helichrysums; in 1895 they offered seven different types of cineraria and eight types of gaillardia²². Their catalogue for 2001 offers only one campanula, three helichrysums, two cinerarias and two gaillardias. There may be another explanation for the large number of varieties available: in the nineteenth century seedsmen could not guarantee the germination rate that they can now, and offering many varieties made buyers feel that they had more chance of getting a good seed if they chose wisely.

Sutton's Amateur's Guide and Spring Catalogue for 1881 has some interesting comments on flower gardening at that time:

What is called fashion is of some account in the history of the garden. Probably fashion is generally founded in sense, however extravagant its manifestations may be. Those who rail against summer bedding make a fanciful entity called Fashion responsible for what they deem a low-toned folly; but we may conclude, without violence to reason, that the prevalence of summer bedding indicates its usefulness as a sort of visible antidote to the gloom we are so often involved in by our very peculiar climate. In countries where open-air exercise can be taken at all seasons, there is less need than here of the brilliant though brief display that so deeply interests all classes. The contrast without and the reaction within are requisites of human nature, and the business of the garden artist is to provide these by the surest and cheapest means at his command. It is singular that those who perceive in the prevalence of bedding evidences of the decadence of art, and even of the dissolution of society, are equally alarmed and incensed at the prosperity of floriculture, the objects of which are so widely divergent from those of the promoters of bedding. The florists may derive some amusement from the eccentric criticisms to which they are subjected, but they cannot be much moved thereby to change their course. Their object is not to realise large ideas in chromatic planting, but to develop[e] the perfections of flowers in detail. In the broad view of things, it is easy to perceive where and how these apparent opposites are brought into juxtaposition, so that the florist labouring for refined particulars readily plays into the hands of the man who looks only for a general and collective effect. The truth of the whole case is to be found in the many-sidedness of human nature. As there are diversities of gifts, so there must be differences of tastes, and Nature is generous in providing materials for all²³.

²² *The Victorian Garden Catalogue* (Studio Editions, 1995), pp. 24, 25, 28, 29.

²³ *The Victorian Garden Catalogue*, p. 46.

From the diversity of interest in growing flowers for pleasure, both by the wealthy with their vast greenhouses and paid labour, and by the amateur florist, caring for plants in pots on the windowsill in his short hours of leisure, it is clear that many people derived pleasure from flowers right from the beginning of the nineteenth century and when more plants became available they took advantage of their diversity and focused on them in their leisure time. However, it could be asked whether people who collected plants in glasshouses or grew them in pots for competitions were really gardeners at all: many florists did not even have gardens, but made do with pots in a back yard. What is the connection between gardens and gardening? Is gardening the same as horticulture or floriculture? First, we must look at the meaning of the word 'gardener' and how it was used in the nineteenth century.

Chapter 3. The Meaning of the Word 'Gardener'.

In the first half of the nineteenth century, the word 'gardener' used in horticultural periodicals and books almost invariably meant a professional gardener, properly trained. He might also be termed 'a practical gardener' to distinguish him from a botanist or an amateur. Anyone other than a professional would either be described as 'an amateur' or be given a specific name in the context of gardening, such as florist, botanist, or cottager. 'Amateur' is often used in the 1840s to mean a florist, to distinguish an amateur florist from a professional one. But until the 1850s the description 'amateur gardener' rarely appears. If the meaning of the word 'gardener' is not understood, much of what is written in gardening literature of the time can be misconstrued. This is illustrated by a comment in a review of Shirley Hibberd's book *The Town Garden* in the *Gardeners' Chronicle* in 1855. The reviewer commented:

We cannot, however, say much in favour of the second [book], which does not seem to have been written by a gardener, if we are to judge from the plants recommended for cultivation, and from sundry little symptoms which the practised eye has no difficulty in detecting. Gardeners do not talk of 'Asderas of suffocated greens' or 'Tantalian lakes' or 'Stagyrian retreats', whatever those phrases may mean¹.

This view is typical of that of the established garden writers at the time: that only professionally trained people were qualified to write about gardening.

The census returns² show that in 1851 there were 4,540 gardeners in Britain, in 1861 there were 14,621, in 1871, 18,688 and in 1881, 74,603. The sudden leap in numbers in 1881 was due not just to the increase in people needing gardeners, but due to the re-classification of occupations³. However, the figures show that by 1881 gardening was a significant occupation. In the mid-nineteenth century, gardeners were the most common male servant to be employed in a Victorian household, but the numbers alone explain nothing about the status of a gardener compared to other servants. In a table of wages of male servants

¹ *Gardeners' Chronicle*, 14 April 1855, p. 239. The phrases are all classical references, but 'Asderas' is a mis-spelling. Hibberd wrote 'Abderas', which referred to a Greek city overrun with rats. Tantalian refers to the legend of Tantalus, who was condemned to live in a river, but could not drink. Stagyrion was the retreat of the philosopher Aristotle.

² Information on gardeners as servants and the statistics given are from Pamela Horn, *The Rise and Fall of the Victorian Servant* (Sutton Publishing Ltd, 1995).

³ As to the classification of occupational qualifications, see R. Lawton, ed., *The Census and Social Structure, an Interpretative Guide to Nineteenth Century Censuses for England and Wales* (Frank Cass, 1978), and 'W. A. Armstrong, The Use of Information about Occupation: Part 2, An Industrial Qualification 1841-1891' in E. A. Wrigley, ed., *Nineteenth Century Society* (Cambridge University Press, 1966).

given in Mrs Beeton's *Book of Household Management* in 1861⁴ they are quoted as receiving the same wages as a male cook or footman (£20-£40), which was less than a butler or valet (£25-£50), but more than a groom (£15-£30). Some may have done better. David Stuart in *The Garden Triumphant* states that in the 1820s a permanent gardener could earn £50 to £100 per year, plus a cottage, vegetables and fuel, whereas under-gardeners earned about sixteen shillings to a guinea a week, plus vegetables. The yearly paid were entitled to four months notice. In 1871 Alexandra Park in Manchester was offering a head gardener £84 4s per year, plus a house, coal, gas and water⁵.

The rise in the numbers of gardeners later in the century must have been in part due to the popularity of gardening and the increased labour-intensiveness of the fashion for bedding plants and sub-tropical plants from the 1860s onwards. There was also an increased number of gardeners when public parks became established. In 1841 they barely existed, but by the 1880s they were a major source of employment in all urban areas. Pamela Horn in *The Rise and Fall of the Victorian Servant* gives several examples of garden staff in big country houses. Englefield House, Berkshire, employed a garden staff of fifteen in the late 1850s, rising to over twenty between the 1860s and 1890s. At Eaton, the Duke of Westminster employed a head gardener and forty under-gardeners, who were all unmarried and lived in the 'bothy' and were looked after by their own cleaner and cook. At Wellbeck Abbey there were six house gardeners to attend the greenhouses that supplied flowers for the house, as well as thirty to forty general gardeners. (See Illustrations 11A and B for photographs of garden staff).

Training as a gardener in the nineteenth century would probably start on a country estate, although as time went on and large nurseries were established, mainly in London, some people learned their trade there from the beginning. The classic training was as a 'serving gardener':

Serving gardeners in the eighteenth century were men who had undergone strict and protracted indentures under master gardeners. Labourers occupied the lowest end of the scale of serving gardeners. They performed the common drudgery of gardening – trenching, digging, hoeing and weeding. These labourers – both men and women – gained all their experience from casual observation, and not through instruction. Their lack of education meant that they seldom graduated to a more elevated status. The next step up in the hierarchy was occupied by the apprentices: youths who served under tradesmen or serving gardeners for a prescribed period under terms of mutual benefit. The master contracted with the apprentice's guardians to provide instruction, food and lodging, or a weekly sum as an equivalent, in exchange for the service of their son. The average contract was for three years, being of longer duration if the apprentice was under sixteen years of age when the agreement was entered. In any event, a youth's apprenticeship never extended beyond the

⁴ *Beeton's Book of Household Management*, facsimile edn (repr. Jonathan Cape Ltd, 1977), p. 8.

⁵ David Stuart, *The Garden Triumphant, A Victorian Legacy* (Viking, 1988), Chapter 8.

attainment of his majority. Subsequent to this stage, the apprentice was admitted as a journeyman, at which time he was required to intern for at least one year in three distinct situations: a public botanical garden, a public nursery and a private garden. On completing this stage he would, at the age of twenty-five, be promoted to the professional status of master gardener, and was free to pursue the senior offices of head gardener, nursery foreman, botanical curator and, ultimately, royal gardener. Few gardeners achieved such an exalted station; the great majority remained in the middling ranks⁶.

Gardeners had fought for centuries to have their status as a trade or guild recognised. In London, The Worshipful Company of Gardeners was given its royal charter in 1605 but was not fully recognised by the Corporation of London until 1659, and was still not granted its own livery. In the seventeenth century the main work for gardeners was in growing vegetables to supply London and because of the increase in the size of the city many people were coming from other parts of the country to try to find work, thus causing the Gardeners' Company to try to operate a 'closed shop' and keep them out of the best jobs. In 1701 the company tried to obtain a charter to operate throughout the country and train apprentices outside London, but were unsuccessful. The Gardeners' Company recognised seven types of work as part of the 'mystery of gardening': nursery work, potagery (kitchen gardening), florilege (flowers), orangery (greenhouse and conservatory work), sylvia (planting woods and lawns), botany and garden design⁷. By the eighteenth century the powers of guilds and livery companies had diminished, but gardeners still tried to maintain their status by keeping their skills to themselves and perpetuating the insistence on proper training.

The skills of gardening in a great country house garden were aimed at producing the widest possible range of flowers, fruit and vegetables over as long a season as possible. Early and late varieties of vegetables were grown with protection from the weather, fruit growth was promoted or retarded by artificial means and flowers for the house were grown in separate cutting gardens. Skills were also developed in packing produce for sending by cart and, later, by train to the London or town houses of the wealthy when part of the family was away from the countryside for the season. Years of training produced men who were specialists in, for instance, grafting and pruning fruit trees and shrubs, and using hot beds and stove houses, with their temperamental heating systems, to produce exotic flowers, as well as fruit such as grapes, pineapples and strawberries, even out of season. Gardeners also learned the secrets of pesticides and weedkillers produced from dangerous chemicals and poisonous plants. It was not surprising that they were reluctant to surrender their secrets to amateurs.

⁶ Todd Longstaffe-Gowan, *The London Town Garden 1740-1840* (Yale University Press, 2001), pp. 157-158. Further details on the training of gardeners can be found in Joan Morgan and Alison Richards, *A Paradise out of a Common Field* (Century, 1990), Chapter 10.

⁷ For further details on the seventeenth century gardening world, see Michael Leapman, *The Ingenious Mr Fairchild* (Headline, 2000), pp.83-85.

A personal account of a gardener was submitted to Loudon's *Gardener's Magazine* in 1826 by a Mr M'Naughton:

I left Edinburgh in the year 1777, and, after working some time in Mr Christopher Gray's nursery at Fulham, I got a very good place with Mr Rolls, a great stockbroker, whose affairs went wrong after I had been six years with him, and I was obliged to quit. After going down to Scotland to see my friends, I came up again and got a place from Mr Hare, then a seedsman in St James's Street, to go to Mrs Wilson at Putney, where I remained till her daughter married, when her husband having an aversion to Scotch servants, I was obliged to leave. Soon after this, a fellow-workman and myself attempted to set up a small nursery at Epsom, part of which is now occupied by Mr Young of that place; but, after struggling hard for little more than two years, we were obliged to give up, after losing all we had saved, and about £50, which my partner had borrowed from his aunt at Kinross, and which preyed so upon his mind, that I verily believe it was the cause of his death, which happened about a year afterwards at Windsor; where he got into a small place to look after a garden, and some fields in which vegetables were grown for sale.

Not liking to go into servitude again, I began jobbing on my own account, and a poor business I have found it ever since. When I first began, the highest wages I could get were 3s a day, and obliged to find my own tools. I had a good deal of employment at first, partly from the circumstances of being a Scotchman, being called by the people who employ jobbers, a professed gardener. My wife also took up a greengrocer's shop about this time, and we did very well till we lost our only daughter, which obliged us to take in a maid-servant, who let in some fellows into the house one Sunday afternoon when we were at chapel, and took away all my savings, most of my wife's clothes, and concealed the bedding in an outhouse, to be taken away no doubt at night. The maid was never seen again, and we never could hear anything of the thieves. We now left Camberwell altogether, and both my wife and I took a situation in a small family near Hammersmith, where my wife was cook, and I had a man under me for the garden and for looking after a horse and chaise. This place did not suit, and I advertised for another, and got one in a large boarding school, which was worse, as my wife was expected to look after the milk of two cows, and I was obliged to assist in brewing. After doing nothing for some time, I began jobbing again in Paddington, and my wife took in washing⁸.

The story shows how even a trained gardener might find it difficult to survive without patronage of a sympathetic employer. It also illustrates the common aspiration of many gardeners: to become nurserymen, in which they were not always successful. Other disasters could also befall them. Robert Sweet, author of the *Geraniaceae*, referred to in the previous chapter, had a worse experience than most, and it shows some of the jealousy and intrigue that went on in the horticultural world. This was often connected with the resentment felt by educated botanists being usurped by gardeners or nurserymen who had worked their way up from the working classes. Sweet had trained as a gardener in the traditional way and by 1824 was in a position of responsibility and trust at Colvill's nursery in London, being an expert grower and breeder of pelargoniums. He was accused of receiving a box of plants stolen from the Royal Botanic Gardens at Kew. It was said that a gardener at Kew had stolen the plants, handed them over the wall to another man and instructed him to deliver them to Colvill's nursery for Mr Sweet. The Kew

gardener then disappeared. The police were called when the plants were discovered missing and Sweet's house was searched; the plants were later identified in the nursery. Sweet was handcuffed and taken to prison to await trial. The death penalty still existed for theft. His trial took place at the Old Bailey in London and many eminent botanists and nurserymen were present. During the proceedings it became clear that Sweet had criticised the work of William Aiton the superintendent of Kew, and that this crime had been set up in order to damage Sweet's reputation. He was acquitted, but never quite recovered from the bad publicity⁹.

Mr M'Naughton had seemed reluctant to consider himself as a servant or a daily labourer, and his ultimate aim had been to set himself up in his own business. The expansion of gardening in the nineteenth century provided a new career path for many boys who might otherwise have gone into domestic service. It gave good opportunities to young men who learnt the skills and had enough initiative to use them for themselves. Some did extremely well: Joseph Paxton and William Robinson are two notable successes. However, there were many failures and the gardening papers are scattered with pleas in the classified advertisement pages for help for distressed nurserymen whose enterprises had ended in disaster, sometimes through financial incompetence, sometimes through a tragedy such as a fire. There was a traditional rivalry between nurserymen and gardeners, probably because one of the perks of the gardener was to sell plants that were surplus to requirements, thus cutting out the nurseryman¹⁰, but it may also have been resentment when gardeners saw how well the nurseries were doing and wished they could have changed the course of their employment.

The organised, hierarchical garden staffs with a head gardener, under-gardeners and apprentices, were only for the very wealthy. People with more modest establishments had to make do with whatever servants were available. Grooms or footmen often doubled as gardeners when the need arose or their other duties permitted. An anecdote in the obituary of Edward Beck (1804-1861), a nurseryman and florist, shows this flexibility:

His head gardener did not give satisfaction, not for want of honest desire to please, but his heart was not in his work, and therefore that work did not prosper as it ought. The master did not want to dismiss the man, but things must be altered. He had seen in his groom an

⁸ *Gardener's Magazine*, January 1826, pp.24-26.

⁹ For the complete story, see Penelope Dawson-Brown, 'Robert Sweet, 1783-1835', *The Linnean* (January 1997), p. 29.

¹⁰ For some discussion as to whether gardeners should be allowed to sell their masters' produce in markets, see *Gardeners' Chronicle*, 7 March 1857, pp. 149, 150.

interest in garden matters, little things that would have escaped the notice of a more ordinary observer; and to their own surprise the men were retained, their offices exchanged¹¹.

Mr Beck was an expert on flowers and could train the man to run the glasshouses. Many people who were pure amateurs might have to learn the skills themselves in order to teach their servants how to become gardeners. It seems that this is exactly what happened when middle class people moved into suburban houses with medium sized gardens: big enough to need help, but not big enough to employ a full garden staff.

By the 1830s suburban housing was increasing significantly. Loudon thought there was enough demand among the occupiers of houses outside cities to make it worthwhile producing a handbook of gardening for them. He lived in what he considered a suburb himself: Bayswater, now very much part of west London (see Illustration 3). His massive undertaking was eventually produced in two volumes out of a projected three, as he died before the third was written. *The Suburban Gardener and Villa Companion*¹² dealt with the design and layout of houses and gardens; and *The Suburban Horticulturalist*¹³ described cultivation of fruit and vegetables. The third volume would have covered ornamental plants. But who did Loudon mean when he referred to the suburban gardener, and how did he differ from any other gardener? In *The Suburban Horticulturalist*, Loudon describes his readership as being 'the retired citizen, the clergyman, the farmer, the mechanic, the labourer, the colonist, or the emigrant'. He went on to say:

The possessor of a garden may desire to know the science and the art of cultivation for several reasons. He may wish to know whether it is properly cultivated by his gardener; he may wish to direct its culture himself; he may desire to know its capabilities of improvement or of change; he may wish to understand the principles on which the different operations of culture are performed, as a source of mental interest; or he may wish to be able to perform the operations himself as a source of recreation and health¹⁴.

Loudon's villa gardens are described as being from ten acres or more, which may include its own park or farm, down to houses in streets or rows with a garden of one perch¹⁵ to one acre. Therefore Loudon is writing for people who want to learn about gardening either to do the work themselves, or to supervise others, regardless of the size of their garden; in other words, someone we would now call an amateur gardener.

¹¹ *Florist*, February 1861, pp. 36-38.

¹² John Claudius Loudon, *The Suburban Gardener and Villa Companion* (Longman, Orme, Brown, Green, and Longmans, 1838).

¹³ John Claudius Loudon, *The Suburban Horticulturalist* (William Smith, 1842).

¹⁴ *The Suburban Horticulturalist*, Introduction, p. 1.

¹⁵ A perch is thirty and a quarter square yards.

More will be discovered about Loudon and his work later: his descriptions are meticulous. Some houses and gardens were designed by Loudon and actually built; others were not built by him, but were real gardens used as examples; others were in his imagination. For each garden described, he sets out details of not just the garden itself and many of its architectural features, but also the amount of help that would be needed to maintain it. From these descriptions we learn how gardens were actually (or more accurately in Loudon's ideal mind, would be) run. Town gardens described as measuring 50 ft by 200 ft could be used to produce vegetables, fruit and flowers, or be laid to grass for children to play on; they can be provided with gravel to save having to cut the grass, or they can be designed for a botanist or florist with appropriate plants. They can be planned so that a householder can manage the garden himself or employ staff. It is advised that if one wants bright flowers all the year round, one should enter into an arrangement with a local nurseryman, rather than try to grow the plants oneself. Loudon suggests that full use should be made of the women of the house for watering and insect collecting¹⁶.

In *The Suburban Gardener and Villa Companion*, Loudon goes into great detail about how much work would have to be done in each garden and how long it would take. For a 50 ft by 200 ft garden, he sets out a suggested cropping plan for fruit and vegetables and then says:

[It] would occupy one person from April to September, during a fourth part of his time, or at least two hours a day; and besides this time, when much watering was required to be done, or insects to be got rid of by collecting, he would need the assistance of the female part of the family. Where there is a steady manservant, this is just the sort of garden that he could take care of, directions being given to him by his employer as to the quantity of particular crops, and the season of sowing or planting, on the supposition that he was not a reading gardener. If he were, and took an interest in having the garden in good order, and in raising large crops, we would recommend him to be as little interfered with as possible; for every man likes to have something on which he prides himself, and, to keep up that pride, it is necessary that it should be as much as possible his own work¹⁷.

He tailored his gardens to suit his readers. For a suburban villa with a one acre garden he says it could be managed by its occupier, a person of leisure 'attached' to gardening, with the help of 'a couple of labourers'¹⁸. For a terraced house in a street of similar houses, he suggests a garden consisting mainly of trees and shrubs:

¹⁶ *The Suburban Horticulturalist*, pp. 181-182.

¹⁷ *The Suburban Gardener and Villa Companion*, p. 208.

¹⁸ *The Suburban Gardener and Villa Companion*, p. 401.

This garden would be very suitable for an occupier who had no time to spare for its culture, and who did not wish for flowers. It would not suit a lady who was fond of gardening: but for one who was not, or had no time to attend to it, and who had several children, this garden would be very suitable, because it would afford the children abundance of room to play in without doing injury¹⁹.

A single detached house and grounds, occupying about an acre and three-quarters, with a kitchen garden and greenhouse:

might be cultivated by the master, with the assistance of a labourer and a mowing machine; or by a head gardener, with a labourer, or the occasional assistance of a house servant²⁰.

So at last emerges the difficulty with having a small establishment and needing a good gardener: a properly trained one will be unwilling to work by himself and be expected to do everything, whereas a 'real' gardener is skilled and will expect someone else to do the routine, boring or heavy work. This was illustrated by a correspondent to the *Gardeners' Chronicle* in April 1858:

Gardeners for moderate people are scarcely to be found...it is almost impossible to find in Scotland or England a gardener who will manage a small place efficiently and economically...reliance must be placed on jobbing gardeners, and we must be satisfied with such productions, ornamental or useful, as they can give us²¹.

Thus the need for the final category of gardener: the jobbing gardener. This was a man to be avoided at all costs; the last resort, but the most commonly employed by the middle classes. Shirley Hibberd said that the jobbing gardener 'fiddles away his employer's time and his own earnings in the low enjoyment of beer'²². Elsewhere he said:

Periodical digging, 'as a matter of course', such as the jobbing gardeners designate 'turning in', has for its sole object the destruction of plants; but that object is disguised by describing the operation as 'making things tidy'. When you are tired of herbaceous plants, let the jobbing gardener keep the border tidy, and you will soon be rid of the obnoxious lilies, phloxes, ranunculuses, anemones, hollyhocks, paeonies, and pansies, without the painful labour of pulling them up and burning them²³.

Nathaniel Paterson (dates unknown), the clergyman author of *The Manse Garden*, solved his problem of help in the garden by recommending training up a boy. He devoted a whole section of his book to explaining how it was done:

¹⁹ *The Suburban Gardener and Villa Companion*, p. 189.

²⁰ *The Suburban Gardener and Villa Companion*, p. 407.

²¹ *Gardeners' Chronicle*, 3 April 1858, p.266.

²² *Floral World*, April 1858, p. 92.

Let the lessons be one at a time, and amazingly simple. As to cleaning a piece of ground previous to digging, teach so much of the botany of three or four of the worst weeds as that each may be known in a crowd, or at any distance. Let it be a rule that these are to be taken up as carefully as a crop of beet, and laid aside, that it may be seen how little injury they have suffered in the act of uprooting. The ground being thus cleared, let it be understood that digging means lifting earth to the depth of fifteen inches, and laying it upside down, the common substitute for which is a mere disordering of the same surface that was uppermost before; hence the wetness and coldness of soil, the late sowing and little reaping, together with the waste of manure, which occur in the gardens of the peasantry, a loss sustained through life for the want of a single lesson. To secure good digging, see that a furrow or trench of the specified depth be opened on the one side of the plot to be dug, and the stuff wheeled to the other. Let this furrow be two feet wide and cut straight down, and let the boy understand that when it is filled in the process of digging he must leave another as wide and as deep, and maintain such openness of trench all the way through the plot. Point out the different colours of the soil that comes up, and show that his work, if rightly done, will all the way present the same appearance. If such a colour is exhibited, the depth is good, the annual weeds fall, of course, to occupy the lowest place, and neither the rake nor the genial sun will bring them to light any more. The manure is by this means also duly deposited, and not wasted by frost and evaporation²⁴.

The term 'amateur gardener' started to become used in the mid 1850s. *The Amateur Gardener's Year Book*, 'a guide for all who cultivate their own plants', was published in 1854 by the Rev. Henry Burgess (1806-1886), but the term does not seem to have been frequently used at that date. By 1858 the *Gardeners' Chronicle* had started to publish articles which they said were specifically for amateurs. However, there seemed to be some confusion about who they were. One correspondent thought the articles were not suitable for real amateurs:

Let us not, however, overlook the real amateur, who with an occasional gardener is mainly indebted to his own energy and skill for the show he annually makes in his little garden²⁵.

But the *Chronicle* did not want to lose these 'small' gardeners any more than their more influential readers. They therefore published their own definition of an amateur gardener with which they tried to keep everyone happy:

An amateur gardener with us is one who pursues the art for the love of it, according to the etymology of the term...an amateur may be a rich man...he may have greenhouses and frames, and keep a servant to assist him and be able to buy expensive plants. Like ourselves, he loves gardening for its own sake, and would rather attend to the cultivation of his domain, whether small or large, himself, than entrust it to others²⁶.

It was not just terminology, however. The whole of gardening was changing and the *Chronicle's* editors were feeling threatened as new magazines were recognising the amateur as a serious reader and the

²³ Shirley Hibberd, *The Amateur's Flower Garden* (1871, repr. Croom Helm, 1986) p.102.

²⁴ Nathaniel Paterson, *The Manse Garden* (James Blackwood & Co., c. 1837), pp. 220-221, which are part of Appendix 1, the whole of which describes training the boy.

²⁵ *Gardeners' Chronicle*, 8 May 1858, p.382.

²⁶ *Gardeners' Chronicle*, 15 May 1858, p.400.

nursery trade was adapting to supply him. The change was due to the rise in the number of people who found themselves in possession of gardens and who had to learn how to deal with them. Gardens were not just appearing in the suburbs, but also in towns, and there were crucial differences between suburbs and towns. Professional gardeners did not think it was possible to have gardens in towns at all and therefore they totally ignored town gardeners.

Chapter 4. The Professional Gardener's Disbelief in Town Gardening.

Gardening in towns has always been a little different from gardening in the countryside. Town gardens tend to be small and their enclosed character often makes it more difficult to give plants enough light. Air and soil pollution can be serious problems, and they are not new ones. They were recognised by Thomas Fairchild when he wrote *The City Gardener* in 1722¹ and gave details of plants that would survive in the sooty atmosphere of London. Industrialisation and urbanisation in the later eighteenth and nineteenth centuries made the problems greater.

The difficulty with soot was that it was sticky, greasy and poisonous. It fell in all weathers. Even in summer when fires were not needed for heating, coal was used for cooking, for factories and for trains. Soot clung to plants and covered the soil. In a new garden the layer of soot would have to be removed before planting and new soil brought in from the countryside. Plants growing outside would have to be syringed regularly to wash away the soot. Flowers were sometimes grown under glass domes to keep them clean and one reason why bedding plants became popular was because they were regularly replaced with the seasons and would not therefore fall prey to soot.

In the mid-nineteenth century, efforts were made to cure the problem and there was hope among gardeners that matters would improve. The *Gardeners' Chronicle* looked at the possibilities in 1855. They reported that Lord Palmerston's Smoke Prevention Bill of 1853 had 'purified' some of the worst districts of London and that horticulturalists' difficulties were diminishing:

From Limehouse to Blackwall the atmosphere has become as pure as at Hammersmith, and if smoke inspectors did their duty, which they do not, the Isle of Dogs might even now become the site of a botanic garden².

These comments, although apparently hopeful for all gardeners, are probably referring principally to market gardeners and nurserymen. Hammersmith was one of the main areas where nurseries were situated and it is significant that they are referring to a botanic garden in the Isle of Dogs (the bend in the river where most of the docks were situated), rather than private gardens in residential districts. At this date,

¹ For details of the life and work of Thomas Fairchild, see Michael Leapman, *The Ingenious Mr Fairchild* (Headline, 2000).

² *Gardeners' Chronicle*, 14 April 1855, p. 239.

the *Gardeners' Chronicle* was still aimed mainly at professional gardeners and very few of them had any interest in gardens in the central parts of London.

Nurserymen and market gardeners, whose plots were originally on the edge of towns, had found that pollution was not the only problem in keeping a business going: the value of land for new houses meant that when leases came to be renewed, nurserymen could not compete with the speculative builders. The nurseries that were most successful in the later part of the century were those built in more outlying areas, such as Henderson's in St John's Wood and the Victoria and Paradise Nurseries in Holloway (see **Illustration 12 A-C**). They became well-known for their huge glasshouses in which were grown the orchids, ferns and bedding plants, which became so popular. By the later part of the century, glasshouses were cheaper to build and maintain, and easier to heat than they had been in the days of Loddiges' nursery, and the mass demand for the plants meant that it was worth the expense of keeping them up.

As we have already seen, most town gardens were not big enough to employ full-time trained gardeners and the work was done, if at all, by semi-trained jobbing gardeners. Therefore by the mid-nineteenth century towns and cities had little interest for any type of professional gardener, whether nurseryman, market gardener or practical gardener. Whereas in the eighteenth and early nineteenth century, people who wanted to fill their gardens with colour could easily buy in plants from local nurserymen, who even hawked the plants from carts in the streets³, by the 1850s the nurserymen were not so local and even if the plants could be found, they would probably die in a few weeks in the inhospitable conditions. Shirley Hibberd described the typical appearance of urban gardens in the 1850s in *The Town Garden*:

In the musty courts and alleys, wall-flowers, stocks, and musk-plants are purchased every spring, and set to flourish in broken teapots, saucepans, flower-pots – damned forever by green or brown paint – or rotten boxes filled with stuff called mould, but which looks like the dust of a perished mummy. These go black in the face in four days from the date of planting, and die three days after that from sheer suffocation, gasping up to the last moment for light and air. Geraniums pass a torpid life on window-sills and in dark parlours, where none but the housekeeper can aver they are geraniums – such naked, smoke-dried sticks they do appear...Thousands of beautiful plants are every spring and summer bought from the nurseries round London, and sold in the city to undergo the slow death of suffocation – dying literally from asphyxia, from an absorption of soot in the place of air – their demise being accelerated by copious supplies of water at improper times, or the withholding altogether of the refreshing element. The wonder is, not that such plants perish miserably, but that they last so long, when plunged without hope of relief, into such a 'Black Hole of Calcutta'⁴.

³ See Todd Longstaffe-Gowan, *The London Town Garden 1700-1840* (Yale University Press, 2001), pp. 160-165, and the illustration on p. 223.

As people began to find themselves forced to live in towns and cities, they became keener than ever to try to create gardens, however small, as an escape from their daily working lives and the oppression of bricks and mortar and constant fog and dirt. But the problem they found was not just the pollution itself, but obtaining any advice on how to deal with it. Because the professionals deserted the cities and refused even to contemplate the problems, amateurs had to learn the skills for themselves and an inextricable link was forged between amateur gardeners and town gardeners. It was when town gardeners began to need information about gardening that amateur gardening began to be noticed.

Professional gardeners tended not to be very innovative. They had trained in a world where everything was done properly. All necessary facilities, such as glasshouses, potting sheds, frames and tools, were available. They did not recognise amateurs in towns as gardeners at all and did not consider their little patches of shaded, polluted ground to be 'gardens'. Therefore, why should they bother to write for them or give them advice? They did not exist. The myth that town gardens and gardeners did not exist in the nineteenth century still persists even among some modern writers. Jane Brown in *The Pursuit of Paradise, A Social History of Gardens and Gardening*, states:

Between smog and smuts gardening would have been virtually impossible except for dust-proof laurel and privet – villa gardens could only survive in Bromley, Cricklewood or Surbiton, the outer suburbs⁵.

The operative words are 'would have': it sounds as if she has not even tried to find out if it was possible or not. It is also noticeable that this remark is in a footnote. Although she writes informatively about Loudon, she goes straight on to the Arts and Crafts Movement, completely missing out the period 1850 to 1890 in relation to small gardens.

We therefore, again, come up against the question, 'what is a garden?'. Is a small patch of ground at the back of a house, full of rubble from building work and shaded for a large part of the day, a garden? Could it become a garden if the owner knew how to grow things in it? Would it be worth the trouble?

The professionals would answer 'no' to all those questions, but the would-be horticulturalist, soon to become amateur gardener, would answer 'yes'. To the professional of the nineteenth century, a garden

⁴ Shirley Hibberd, *The Town Garden* (Groombridge and Sons, 1855), Introduction.

⁵ Jane Brown, *The Pursuit of Paradise, A Social History of Gardens and Gardening* (Harper Collins, 1999), p.154n.

was a pre-planned, designed tract of land with trees, grass, flowers and shrubs, and ideally a separate kitchen garden, all of which would be looked after by one or more trained men. Even Loudon, when writing about suburban plots, implied that some professional planning and advice was needed, otherwise he would never have written his books. Each part of the gardening staff would play his own part as a member of a team. Only the head gardener would be required to take some part in planning or designing the garden. The amateur, on the other hand, was, and still is, his own designer, head gardener and labourer. He can do what he likes with his patch of land and need not follow rigid rules about dividing the space into different departments. To an amateur, therefore, a 'garden' is an experiment and a fantasy. It may never look as perfect or be as productive as a professional's garden, but it will represent more of the individual spirit of the garden's owner than a professionally designed garden ever can. The amateur can even be a gardener without a garden. The florists who grew all their plants in pots would have considered themselves gardeners, and it seems that many of them were in fact professional gardeners. The small patches of ground outside cottages or a courtyard outside a town house can both be gardens in the sense of places to grow things, although the plants may principally be grown in containers, because the people doing the growing and indulging in horticulture are said to be 'gardening'.

So what were amateurs to do if they wanted to try making a garden? If they turned to the books written by the professionals, they often gave them more problems than they had already. It was like asking someone the way and being told that they would not have started from there in the first place. John Loudon's wife, Jane, in her book *Gardening for Ladies* explained how she came to be writing for amateurs:

When I married Mr Loudon, it is scarcely possible to imagine any person more completely ignorant than I was, of every thing relating to plants and gardening; and, as may be easily imagined, I found every one about me so well acquainted with the subject, that I was soon heartily ashamed of my ignorance. My husband, of course, was quite as anxious to teach me as I was to learn, and it is the result of his instructions, that I now (after ten years experience of their efficacy) wish to make public for the benefit of others.

I do this, because I think books intended for professional gardeners, are seldom suitable for the wants of amateurs. It is so very difficult for a person who has been acquainted with a subject all his life, to imagine the state of ignorance in which a person is who knows nothing of it, that adepts often find it impossible to communicate the knowledge they possess. Thus, though it may at first sight appear presumptuous in me to attempt to teach an art of which for three fourths of my life I was perfectly ignorant, it is in fact that very circumstance which is one of my chief qualifications for the task. Having been a full-grown pupil myself, I know the wants of others in a similar situation; and having never been satisfied without knowing the reason for every thing I was told to do, I am able to impart those reasons to others. Thus my readers will be able to judge for themselves, and to adapt their practice to the circumstances in which they may be placed⁶.

She was not the only woman to teach herself gardening and then try to explain it to others. In 1847 the small *Handbook of Town Gardening by a Lady* appeared, published in Ireland. The anonymous author (who I have not been able to identify with certainty) found herself in a similar situation and explains how she managed most of the operations in the garden with the minimum of assistance:

The object of this little work is to impart to residents in cities the observations and experiences which the writer has obtained by many years of constant practice in the art of city gardening. It is not intended for the professional florist, but simply for those who, forced by circumstances to live in towns, wish to enjoy some of those pleasures which the country so abundantly affords.

* * *

The results have been obtained without the assistance of a professed gardener, and any lady can manage a small town garden with the aid of a common labouring man, such as a helper in a stable. This help would be required in digging large holes, sifting and mixing earth, clipping grass and hedges, raking and rolling gravel, and similar fatiguing operations, for which a lady has not sufficient strength, but everything besides may be, and has been, easily done alone; and there is great pleasure in feeling, when we have been successful, that it is the work of our own hands⁷.

The book contains an appendix explaining how to grow plants in Wardian cases, which proved invaluable in the polluted air. The book was used for advice and information by Shirley Hibberd when he began his garden in Pentonville, north London, almost in the shadow of King's Cross station. He elaborated on the difficulties of finding advice in his 1855 book *The Town Garden*:

Works on gardening are so full of complicated instructions, and purely professional views of things, that plain people are usually frightened at their perusal, and fling them aside under the pressure of fearful visions of inevitable expense, painfully acquired skill, and innumerable impossibilities, which seem woven up with a pursuit at once simple, profitable and delightful⁸.

He went on to encourage amateurs not to give up:

It is generally thought that a city garden is an impossibility, that vegetation cannot be reconciled to the close air, the darkness, and the smoke of towns; and that all attempts to mingle the rural with the urban must, like Brummel's forty neck cloths, turn out failures. There can be no greater mistake than this; and though city gardening has its disadvantages and difficulties, the man determined to succeed, may produce not only green stuff but flowers, in a north aspect, and under the very shadow of a gasometer. The problem is how to grow flowers in a soil of cinders, and an atmosphere of smoke; and flowers which, of all things, revel in sunshine, and demand their daily food⁹.

⁶ Jane Wells Loudon, *Gardening for Ladies* (John Murray, 1840), Introduction, p. v.

⁷ *Handbook of Town Gardening by a Lady* (Orr & Co, 1847), Introduction.

⁸ Shirley Hibberd, *The Town Garden* (Groombridge and Sons, 1855), Preface, p. 3.

Hibberd's book and another book published the same year, William Paul's *Hand-book of Villa Gardening*¹⁰, led to a discussion on town gardening in the *Gardeners' Chronicle* in April 1855. William Paul (1822-1905) was a nurseryman from Hertfordshire and his book was written as a series of letters to a friend setting up a garden in the vicinity of a manufacturing town. The *Chronicle* approved of Paul more than Hibberd, as he was a professional, and, like other professionals, implied that an amateur would not be able to manage without help. He advised, 'You will, of course, require a gardener, either occasionally or constantly' and 'You would hardly think, however, of planning or re-modelling a garden without first seeking professional advice'. More perceptively, he referred to the increased interest in gardening:

A few years since, gardening was the recreation of the few – the opulent, the scholar, the man of leisure...In recent times, the art has undergone an entire change, and what was of old the pursuit of the few, has, in varied forms, become the recreation and delight of the many¹¹.

The comments on town gardening in the *Chronicle* led to several readers writing in about personal successes in, or observations of, town gardening. The *Florist* followed in May 1855 with an article by John Edwards (d. 1862), a florist from Holloway in north London, relating his successes in growing florists' flowers for many years. In August 1857 the *Florist* began to publish a series of articles called 'Chronicles of a Small Garden' by a country clergyman known as 'D of Deal' (in Kent) (who will be identified later). He explained that he grew everything in his 45 ft by 54 ft garden by himself, with the assistance of a pensioner, who did the weeding 'for a trifle' and a gardener two hours a week who did the 'nice jobs' such as budding and planting out. He commented that he would not need this help if he had leisure of another three hours a week. Deal probably did not have the pollution problems of London but it is another illustration of how ordinary people with small gardens were prepared to learn the skills and do the work in gardens themselves if they could manage it.

This therefore was the background to the definition of the amateur gardener that appeared in the *Gardeners' Chronicle* in 1858. Until then, the *Chronicle* had paid little attention to amateurs, but by 1858 the paper was threatened by amateur gardeners who were starting up magazines of their own. In order to retain its control it had to keep the amateurs that did read it and prevent them from taking other papers. It

⁹ *The Town Garden*, p. 5.

¹⁰ William Paul, *The Hand-book of Villa Gardening, in a Series of Letters to a Friend* (Piper, Stephenson and Spence, 1855).

¹¹ *The Hand-book of Villa Gardening* (1855), p. 3.

therefore tried to appeal to them by featuring articles on amateur gardening. These appeared sporadically from March 1858, when it had announced:

Although a great deal of information adapted for the large class of persons who cultivate their own gardens is scattered over our pages, it is thought advisable to furnish some papers more directly aiming at their instruction; and we shall endeavour so to present the results of our own long and extensive experience as to increase their knowledge and guide their practice¹².

In other words the *Chronicle* is saying that it is all very well for amateurs to start publishing their own papers, but they are not really qualified to do so; only professionally trained gardeners have the expertise to do that.

In reality the *Chronicle* had lost its monopoly by ignoring the needs of the small gardeners, not all of which were in towns. There were many amateurs in the country who had small gardens or allotments, but who may not have been as articulate as the middle class town and suburban gardeners. However, they complete the picture of nineteenth century gardeners and must be considered next.

¹² *Gardeners' Chronicle*, 27 March 1858, p. 240.

Chapter 5. Gardening Outside Towns.

Small gardens where no professional help was employed existed in the countryside as well as the towns. A small garden in the countryside could be anything from a patch of ground carved out of common land on the outskirts of a village to the garden of a small farmer or tradesman. However, 'cottagers' are most often thought of as agricultural labourers in tied cottages. They would have enough land to grow some vegetables and flowers as well as keeping animals such as pigs or chickens, and would do the work themselves with the help of family members. Amateurs such as these would have originally gardened out of necessity as a way of supplementing their diets.

Section (i) The myth of the cottage garden.

The modern myth of the cottage garden, by which is meant the idealistic picture of a pretty, flowery garden, full of herbaceous perennials, roses and fruit trees, seems to have been created in the twentieth century as a reaction to formal, 'low maintenance' gardens relying on lawns, hedges and bedding plants. The cottage garden seemed a haven of prettiness and scent in comparison. Of course it is true that cottagers did grow vegetables and fruit in their gardens, and flowers were put in where there were gaps, but it is as doubtful that the true cottage garden was full of roses and flowers as it is doubtful that every cottage was idyllically thatched and eaved. It is far more likely that the true cottage garden was mainly utilitarian and not particularly attractive overall. The myth seems to rely largely on the writing of Gertrude Jekyll (1843-1932) and William Robinson in the late nineteenth century and was strengthened by sentimental Victorian paintings, which were unrealistic even when new. Jekyll and Robinson themselves appeared in print in the later part of the nineteenth century and did use many 'cottage garden flowers' in their planting schemes. However, Jekyll's vast herbaceous borders, beautiful though they are, and Robinson's 'wild gardens' cannot in reality be compared to real gardens of cottagers, partly because they are much too large, but mainly because they are far too contrived and specialised.

Flora Thompson in *Lark Rise to Candleford* described cottage gardens in Oxfordshire in the 1880s. The best garden in the village was 'Old Sally's':

The garden was a large one, tailing off at the bottom into a little field where Dick grew his corn crop. Nearer the cottage were fruit trees, then the yew hedge, close and solid as a wall, which sheltered the beehives and enclosed the flower garden. Sally had such flowers, and

so many of them, and nearly all of them sweet-scented! Wallflowers and tulips, lavender and sweet william, and pinks and old-world roses with enchanting names – Seven Sisters, Maiden's Blush, moss rose, monthly rose, cabbage rose, blood rose, and, most thrilling of all to the children, a big bush of the York and Lancaster rose, in the bloom of which the rival roses mingled in a pied white and red. It seemed as though all the roses in Lark Rise had gathered together in that one garden. Most of the gardens had only one poor starveling bush or none; but, then, nobody else had so much of anything as Sally¹.

In the other village gardens, only the Maiden's Blush rose was grown, planted from cuttings by everyone. The other 'cottage garden flowers' like pinks, and forget-me-nots were found, and the women grew herbs for cooking, household uses and medicine².

In the work of Jekyll and Robinson, it was not the cottage gardens themselves which they so admired, as much as the flowers grown by the cottagers, which were often only slightly removed from the wild flowers growing in the hedgerows and fields. Later writers such as Vita Sackville-West and Marjorie Fish also admired and recommended these attractive and easy-to-grow flowers, and in some senses the cottage gardens they describe may have been more realistic. They existed in the twentieth century and were created by 'cottagers' who may well have been more prosperous and with more opportunity to learn about gardening and spend more money on it. Their gardens could therefore consist of a profusion of flowers and roses, interspersed with vegetables, as they were not relying on them solely to provide food for the family. Eighteenth or nineteenth century cottage gardens were probably mainly vegetable gardens and animal pens with a few flowers edging the paths, which would be beaten earth or cinders. I was struck with the reality of cottage gardens when I got to know allotments in north London, and in particular that of an elderly Greek Cypriot lady, who had come to Britain in the 1950s. She had tried to create a garden like those she remembered in Cyprus and grew enormous quantities of vegetables for herself and her friends. Spinach, marrows, potatoes, beans and peas, and even globe artichokes and pumpkins grew in carefully weeded rows. But the fruit and nut trees, and roses, flowering shrubs, dahlias and sweet peas were put wherever there was a space, with no plan or design attached to them. The main path was made of old carpet, to suppress weeds, and the smaller paths were beaten earth. The 'greenhouse' was a shack made of re-claimed panels from other greenhouses, window frames, corrugated plastic and anything that could be used, but it contained a variety of plants from tomatoes and coriander to chrysanthemums and house plants. The 'shed' was more like a small house, with a simple kitchen and old armchairs in the sitting area; outside were tables and chairs under a well-pruned, productive grape vine. Apart from the absence of animals, this seemed the nearest one could get in the present day to the cottage gardens of the

¹ Flora Thompson, *Lark Rise to Candleford* (Penguin, 1973), p. 78.

nineteenth century. Everything was utilitarian: seeds were saved from year to year, most plants were grown from cuttings given by friends or other allotment holders, and the main resource was time, hard work and experience.

The picturesque cottage of the nineteenth century was likely to be dark and cramped and in poor repair. The scent of roses and honeysuckle would barely disguise the smells of the privy and dung heap. This was emphasised by Flora Thompson:

At the back or side of each cottage was a lean-to pigsty and the house refuse was thrown on a nearby pile called 'the muck'll'. This was so situated that the ooziings from the sty could drain into it; the manure was also thrown there when the sty was cleared, and the whole formed a nasty, smelly eyesore to have within a few feet of the windows³.

Another observer of country life was the Frenchman, Hippolyte Taine, who visited England in 1872. He describes a village of about four hundred inhabitants and looked at the cottages of two tradesmen, a carpenter and a carter:

Their houses are of brick and covered with red tiles; one of them is flanked with a pretty large garden filled with vegetables, well-cultivated, garnished with fine strawberries, with some bee-hives in a corner; both of them have a small flower-garden, roses, ivy, some creeping plants, and adornment⁴.

Tradesmen would have had more money to spend on a garden and may have employed help to maintain and cultivate them. Strawberries, in particular, were luxuries which a cottager would not have had.

The gardening skills of cottagers were probably handed down from parent to child and may not have been very great. John Loudon used many pages of his *Gardener's Magazine* trying to promote skills among cottagers, giving lists of books he thought they would find useful⁵. He tried to persuade landowners to provide new, better-designed cottages for their workers⁶. He thereby seems to have contributed to the myth by publishing drawings of fanciful cottages which may never have been built. They were probably meant to appeal more to the farmer or his wife, who wanted attractive cottages on their land, rather than

² *Lark Rise to Candleford*, p. 115.

³ *Lark Rise to Candleford*, p. 24.

⁴ Hippolyte Taine, *Notes on England* (1872), quoted in David Rubenstein, *Victorian Homes* (David and Charles, 1974).

⁵ See the *Gardener's Magazine*, May 1834. He recommended, for those who could hardly read, Charles Lawrence's *Practical Directions* (price sixpence), and for 'those who can read and think', Denson's *Peasant's Voice* and his own *Cottage Manual*.

⁶ *Gardener's Magazine* January 1827, pp. 19, 271.

the workers themselves who simply wanted a dry, clean, warm place to live in. In 1830 Loudon published the results of an essay on cottage husbandry and architecture⁷. The winner, who was anonymous, showed how a family could produce not only food, but beer, firewood, medicine (including opium substitute) and tobacco. The house included a bee-house, dog-kennel and pigeon-loft. What was the reason behind these fanciful cottages and ideals? No doubt many landowners did want to provide their workers with decent living accommodation and did believe it was a good idea to encourage them to grow vegetables in their spare time rather than drink or gamble. However, in some people's minds, things could be taken too far:

From an eighth to a quarter of an acre of land is usually given to an ordinary labourer's cottage, except, of course, where they are allowed to keep a cow. I do not think it well to add a cow-shed to a labourer's cottage, and give to it three or four acres of land, as it renders the labourer independent of his proper calling, and it causes labour to be scarce⁸.

In *The Cottage Garden*⁹ Anne Scott-James summarises the history of cottage gardens from medieval times to the twentieth century. She describes typical gardens of the early nineteenth century, usually of about a quarter of an acre:

There were two classic ground plans; probably both went back a long way in history, and both survive all over England today.

The first typical plan was where the cottage was built close to the road or lane, when it had a narrow front garden bounded by a hedge or fence, devoted to flowers, and a larger back garden for vegetables, bush fruit, animals, muck heap, water-butt and privy. The small front garden was sometimes called the forecourt. Since the cottage windows were within a few feet of the passers-by, there was likely to be a good show of pot plants on the sill.

The other typical plan was where the cottage was set further back from the road, and then there was a central path leading to the cottage door. The main garden was in front of the house, and the centre path was usually bordered with flowers, and vegetables were planted behind the flowers in rows. There were also flower-beds under the windows. Muck-heap, pigsty, privy and so on were if possible tucked behind the house.

With either plan there would be fruit trees in convenient sunny places, a mass of climbers on the house, and often a neat row of beehives. Many cottagers would have their own well or pond¹⁰.

Scott-James emphasises that most cottage gardens were not idyllic¹¹, but that some employers created model villages to improve living conditions of their workers. An example was Harlaxton in Lincolnshire, which was the work of George de Ligne Gregory between 1790 and 1820, continued by Gregory Gregory

⁷ *Gardener's Magazine* January 1830, p.139.

⁸ John Birch, *Country Architecture* (1874), quoted in *Victorian Homes*.

⁹ Anne Scott-James, *The Cottage Garden* (Allen Lane, 1981).

¹⁰ *The Cottage Garden*, pp. 34-35.

¹¹ She refers to two articles in the magazine *Country Life* in 1967 by Nicholas Cooper called 'The Myth of Cottage Life': see chapter 4.

during the 1830s, using advice from Loudon. Such cottages would have reasonable-sized gardens, but the problem remained as to whether the inhabitant had the time, skill or inclination to cultivate the garden productively.

Advice to cottagers was not just on gardening. Loudon's *Manual of Cottage Gardening, Husbandry and Architecture*, which was a compilation of articles by other people which had previously appeared in the *Gardener's Magazine* in 1830, also included advice on keeping cows, brewing and baking. William Cobbett's *Cottage Economy*, which first appeared in 1821¹², concentrated mainly on keeping animals, brewing, baking and constructing an ice-house. It also included selecting, cutting and bleaching grasses for bonnet-making. It therefore seems to have been assumed by these two experts on gardening that the cottager had no real need for advice on growing plants, once he had a decent place to live. Perhaps as they lived in the countryside and worked in agriculture, it was assumed that they knew how to grow things. It was presumably also believed that the cottager would simply be growing plants for food or other household uses and would not be expected to waste time on decorative flowers or luxury fruits. In *The Social History of Housing*, John Burnett commented that the Committee on Labourers' Wages of 1842 found that where cottages were in the hands of the farmers they would prohibit the labourer from keeping a pig and would even claim the produce of the apple trees and the vine which usually covered the house¹³.

It is therefore difficult to know how far the 'traditional cottage garden' in the nineteenth century was the product of the art or the craft of 'gardening' itself, or whether it was mainly a back or front yard used more as a miniature farm or smallholding, with a few flowers thrown in where space permitted. Some real nineteenth century cottage gardens can be seen in the work of Joseph Gale who photographed country life in the last quarter of the century¹⁴ (see Illustration 15). If the art of gardening is garden design, then there probably was not much of it in cottage gardens. The flowers that were there were probably barely cultivated wild flowers and a few pots of geraniums at the window-sill. There would not have been much attempt at design and therefore the profusion created, if there were enough flowers for profusion, may well have led to the ideas latched on to by Jekyll, Robinson and the other idealists who created the beautiful, but heavily planned and luxurious, gardens of the late Victorian and Edwardian periods. If the craft of gardening is horticulture, then there was more of it in cottage gardens. Cottagers probably became

¹² It was published by Cobbett himself and a new edition appeared in 1831.

¹³ John Burnett, *A Social History of Housing* (Methuen, 1980), p. 40.

¹⁴ See Brian Coe, *A Victorian Country Album, The Photographs of Joseph Gale* (Oxford Illustrated Press, undated).

very skilled at growing their vegetables and would have been competitive with their neighbours. In a small garden, it is difficult to do anything privately. Neighbours are always aware of what is going on in adjoining gardens and if cottagers were all growing the same varieties of vegetables, they were bound to compare their own results to those of their neighbours.

Section (ii). The truth about allotments.

If cottagers were not given enough space round their homes to grow plants for food, the next best alternative was to obtain an allotment. Allotments as we know them today are usually found on wasteland, such as beside railway lines or behind housing developments. However, if their history is considered it will often be found that the reason they are in that particular place is that the land was originally common land and has been used by local people for centuries. An example is the Fuel Land Allotments in East Finchley, north London. These allotments take up fifteen acres bordering a cemetery, just south of the north circular road, and are surrounded by suburban housing in what would be prime building land. They were originally part of Finchley Common, which was enclosed under the Enclosure Act of 1810, and part of which was assigned to parishioners who had had grazing rights over the common. Any rents or profits were used to provide fuel for the poor of the parish. In 1892 they came under the jurisdiction of the Finchley Charities and were laid out as 113 plots. The income was still used to buy coal for the almspeople. In the present day the allotments are leased to local residents on condition that they are cultivated to the satisfaction of the management committee, as the Finchley Charities would be enabled sell the land for development if it were not maintained as allotments¹⁵.

The origins of allotments are various and are well-documented by David Crouch and Colin Ward in *The Allotment, Its Landscape and Culture*¹⁶. Throughout the eighteenth century schemes were put forward to replace common land taken away from villagers by enclosure. Some schemes allowed land to be given by the parish to individuals, some to be worked communally, but all were based on the premise that the land was in lieu of poor relief. There were other types of scheme set up by private individuals, either for their own workers, or for the public in a particular vicinity. Discussion continued throughout the nineteenth century as to how the land should be used and how much land should be allowed. Rules were usually

¹⁵ See the report in *The Finchley News*, 20 October 1972, when there was a threat that the land would be sold and the allottees mounted a protest campaign.

¹⁶ See David Crouch and Colin Ward, *The Allotment, Its Landscape and Culture* (Mushroom Bookshop, 1994), particularly ch. 3.

imposed on allottees as to use. Those of allotments at Lyddington, near Swindon, in the 1880s included having to attend church to the best of the family's ability and keeping a character for morality and sobriety¹⁷. Sir John Lawes, who set up an 'experimental station' in Rothamsted, granted allotments of an eighth of an acre each, and provided beer directly from his own brewery to prevent allottees visiting the pub. His rules included not picking vegetables after 9 a.m. on Sundays¹⁸. The rules of the Charterhouse Hinton Allotments in 1834 included allowing cultivation only by spade, not plough. There was to be no work on Sunday, no trespassing on to other plots, and allottees were required to keep the cart road and neighbouring fences in good repair. Three prizes were awarded annually for the best kept plots¹⁹.

Flora Thompson stated that only the men ever worked on the vegetable plots or allotments²⁰ and she describes the work they did:

The energy they brought to their gardening after a hard day's work in the fields was marvellous. They grudged no effort and seemed never to tire. Often, on moonlight nights in spring, the solitary fork of some one who had not been able to tear himself away would be heard and the scent of his twitch fire smoke would float in at the windows... The allotment plots were divided into two, and one half planted with potatoes and the other half with wheat or barley. The garden was reserved for green vegetables, currant and gooseberry bushes, and a few old-fashioned flowers. Proud as they were of their celery, peas and beans, cauliflowers and marrows, and fine as were the specimens they could show of these, their potatoes were their special care, for they had to grow enough to last the year round.... Very little money was spent on seed; there was little to spend, and they depended mainly upon the seed saved from the previous year. Sometimes, to secure the advantage of fresh soil, they would exchange a bag of seed potatoes with friends living at a distance, and sometimes a gardener at one of the big houses around would give one of them a few tubers of a new variety. They would be carefully planted and tended, and, when the crop was dug up, specimens would be presented to neighbours²¹.

By the late nineteenth century an allotment began to be regarded as the right of every working person who wanted one. The 1887 Allotment Act provided that local authorities had to grant allotments of up to an acre each where demand existed (four people constituting a demand), but this need only be done if they were not being provided through private resources. Also in 1887 a so-called 'allotments candidate' was returned to Parliament²². The 1894 Local Government Act raised the maximum plot size to four acres, which began to blur the distinction between smallholdings for profit and allotments for family use. In 1908 the Smallholdings and Allotments Act provided that local authorities had to meet the demand for allotments: they could purchase land compulsorily and take over enclosure allotments from wardens.

¹⁷ See *The Allotment*, p. 56.

¹⁸ See *The Allotment*, p. 55.

¹⁹ See the John Johnson collection in the Bodleian Library, Box 1.

²⁰ *Lark Rise to Candleford*, p. 114.

²¹ *Lark Rise to Candleford*, pp. 62-63.

The question remains as to the purpose of allotments. It seems from the original reasoning behind allotments that they were intended for people to use for making a living and thus keeping them off the parish poor relief system, rather than simply for growing one's own vegetables. There is also no indication as to how the tradition developed for growing flowers on allotments for shows. It is true that when horticultural shows became popular, cottagers and allotment holders were encouraged to enter their produce, as will be seen in the next chapter, and that on allotments run by philanthropists and landowners there were often prizes for the best kept plots, but all the information on allotments relating to the nineteenth century seems to indicate that they were mainly intended for growing food. In 1891 an allotment was defined as 'a piece of land held and cultivated by a man who gains his living by weekly wages, and who cultivates such land with the primary object of supplying his family with vegetables and similar articles'²³. The 'similar articles' could include livestock, such as pigs and chickens²⁴. It would seem that the modern concept of the allotment as a largely recreational place developed in the twentieth century, perhaps after allotments were popularised during both World Wars. Once the war was over and it was no longer necessary to grow vegetables for essential food, many people may have been reluctant to give up their plots because of the pleasure they derived from them, but took to growing flowers instead of, or as well as, food crops.

It is difficult to find much evidence of the views of cottagers or allotment holders themselves in publications of the mid-nineteenth century. It will be seen in later chapters looking at the publications in more detail that there are references to allotments, but they are almost always written by the middle or upper classes giving their views as to how cottagers or allotment holders can be encouraged or provided for. As allotments were related to the poor relief system they were the subject of fierce political debate and allotment holders became tools of politicians and social reformers and were not regarded as individuals who had views of their own. It is as if working class people in the countryside existed as a class which was expected to garden to provide themselves with food, but which was constantly criticised for not being more industrious and not having better gardening skills. Yet if they spent too much time growing things for themselves they would be wasting their employer's time or not spending enough time in church. Being less articulate and having less money than people who had migrated to towns, the

²² See *The Allotment*, p. 211.

²³ *Chambers Journal of Popular Literature, Science and Art*, quoted in the John Johnson collection, Box 1.

²⁴ See *The Allotment*, p.212, referring to a Pig Club.

country gardeners and allotment holders were not considered a market by retailers or publishers until much later in the nineteenth century, and therefore were the last group of amateur gardeners to have their own needs and wants considered.

Chapter 6. Public Gardening.

By the second half of the nineteenth century gardening had become a leisure activity for all classes of society, but there was still surprisingly little information available for amateurs who wanted to learn more about it. Although there were several so-called 'magazines' which could teach them the skills, they were mainly in the newspaper format and did not provide realistic colour illustrations of the flowers people wished to grow. Before the days of glossy magazines and television, it was essential to go out and see plants 'in the flesh' to know what was available and to see how they should be grown. Other than going to the nurseries which grew the plants, the best way to see them was in public parks or at flower shows.

Section (i). Parks.

London had had royal parks from early times, although they were not always open to the public all or any of the time. The opening of municipal parks coincided with the increasing interest in gardening, but it was only in the 1850s that they started to have a real influence on the style of gardening that the middle classes rapidly became drawn towards. The opening of municipal parks followed the 1833 Select Committee on Public Walks, which recognised the need for open spaces to provide town dwellers with fresh air and contact with nature. As with cottage gardens and allotments, visiting parks was encouraged as an alternative to drinking and violent 'sports' and it was thought beneficial for members of the lower classes to see how people of higher rank behaved. Parks were promoted by rational recreationalists in the same way that art galleries and museums were: to encourage education and set an example.

The earliest municipal parks¹ were Moor Park in Preston, opened in 1833, and Derby Arboretum, opened in 1840. Moor Park was created by enclosing the Town Moor, which was technically not common land and therefore did not need an Act of Parliament to enclose it. It was partially laid out as a park at its opening, but was more fully landscaped in 1864 by Edward Milner (d. 1884). Derby Arboretum was donated by the industrialist Joseph Strutt, and he chose John Loudon to design it. Loudon planted eight hundred varieties of trees and displayed each of them individually in his favourite 'gardenesque' style, labelling them all. This was the same style that was used by Loddiges in the arboretum attached to their nursery where the plants were set out in alphabetical order (see Illustration 7B). It was an opportunity to

introduce the public to new, foreign trees that were still curiosities. Other early parks followed the same landscape style, featuring lawns and ponds with walks laid out to lead the visitor through the carefully contrived planting and the occasional interesting building (see *Illustration 13A*). The idea of organised planting of flowers in beds was not part of these early schemes.

However, when Joseph Paxton designed the park at Sydenham, south of London, to house the reconstructed Crystal Palace, he decided to use something different and much more spectacular. The Crystal Palace was dismantled in Hyde Park in 1852. Paxton formed the Crystal Palace Company, and bought a huge sloping site at Sydenham on which he laid out a new type of pleasure garden for 'refined recreation' (see *Illustration 14A*). The rebuilt palace was opened in 1856 amid gardens following the Italian style, with terraced water features and formal flower beds². 'Bedding plants', specially grown tender plants which were discarded after a season, were already being used in some country estate gardens to provide colourful displays near the windows of the house, but this was their first use in a public park. Colour theories³ were popular subjects for discussion in the late 1850s and the accepted expert on planning colour bedding schemes was Donald Beaton (1802-1863), head gardener at Shrubland Park and the writer on the flower garden for the *Cottage Gardener*. Paxton used the flowers on a huge scale and the public came in to marvel at the spectacle of form and colour in conjunction with elaborate fountains and cascades. The formal flower beds in Regent's Park can be seen in *Illustration 14B*, and the layout of formal beds in Abbey Park, Leicester, can be seen in *Illustration 13B*.

One of the reasons formal bedding was used in parks was to solve the problem of pollution. Soot, smoke and chemicals blowing over the parks meant that trees and shrubs were often covered in a black deposit and the plants could not survive more than a few seasons. Bedding plants were only there for a season anyway, so as soon as they deteriorated they would be renewed. As the century progressed, nurserymen and plant breeders were producing greater varieties of bedding plants in more colours, and gardeners began to learn which had the best resistance to wind, rain and drought. Flower beds were designed for the maximum impact on the visitor: circular beds were raised in the centre so that all the plants could be seen, and 'ribbon borders' were planted beside walks to encourage visitors to keep circulating and look at the

¹ Details of the history of municipal parks can be found in Hazel Conway, *People's Parks: The Design and Development of Victorian Parks in Britain* (Cambridge University Press, 1991).

² For a description of the Crystal Palace park, see Brent Elliott, *Victorian Gardens* (B. T. Batsford Ltd, 1990), pp. 110, 117. For a contemporary account, see the *Gardeners' Chronicle*, 21 June 1856, pp. 419-420.

³ As to colour theories in mid-Victorian gardening, see *Victorian Gardens*, pp. 149-152.

plants as they moved along. Unfortunately, although the public loved them, they were not always the most suitable plants to try to grow in their own small, suburban gardens. A greenhouse would be needed to propagate the plants, or they would have to be bought new every season from a nursery. Either way, a considerable financial outlay was needed, not to mention the time taken if an amateur grew them himself. However, it seems that people could not resist the styles introduced by parks. When they got bored with colour, foliage became popular: by the 1860s 'sub-tropical' planting was introduced at Battersea Park by John Gibson (1790-1866) and was widely encouraged by William Robinson in the 1870s after his visits to Paris and Germany⁴. Although foliage plants were more convenient for the gardeners, as foliage kept its interest throughout its life regardless of flowers, Shirley Hibberd counselled against it for amateur gardeners in a 'sub-arctic clime':

We are required, say, to embellish a garden with plants many degrees more tender than our familiar geraniums, verbenas, and petunias, and we may reasonably expect to find the task increasingly troublesome and hazardous, in direct proportion to the tenderness of the subjects that it is proposed to employ....It follows of necessity that the more we trust to tropical or subtropical plants for the embellishment of the flower-garden, the greater is the risk we incur that, instead of embellishing, we shall disfigure it⁵.

The next trend was for using plants with grey, bronze and bluish, or even black, pigments. By the 1870s dwarf foliage plants were being specially produced for close planting together in patterns like Persian carpets, which appropriately became known as 'carpet bedding'. Again, the idea had originated in the great country estates, this time through the work of John Fleming (d.1863) of Clivedon, who had been using white flowers and more subdued colours in his schemes since the 1850s. In 1875 the Crystal Palace park at Sydenham featured six different butterfly shaped beds, representing each species as closely as possible to life. Correspondence in the *Gardeners' Chronicle*⁶ showed that the idea was not a new one, but that until that date it had been difficult to find enough varieties of plants in accurate colours to carry it out successfully. The paper gave detailed plans and descriptions of not only the butterfly beds, but also many other designs, so it seems that people did expect to be able to copy them at home.

However, as the century progressed, park planting moved to extremes which few amateur gardeners could aspire to, even if they thought it would be suitable. In 1871 Victoria Park in east London had exhibited a bed depicting the Prince of Wales feathers; other municipal parks used the idea to create their town or

⁴ For further details on the different styles introduced into parks, see *Victorian Gardens*, pp. 152-159 and Hazel Conway, *Public Parks* (Shire Publications Ltd, 1996), pp. 65-76.

⁵ Shirley Hibberd, *The Amateur's Flower Garden* (Groombridge and Sons, 1871), pp. 222-223.

⁶ *Gardeners' Chronicle*, 21 August 1875, pp. 238-239; 11 September 1875, p. 336.

borough coat of arms. As the style developed, succulent plants were also used, giving the beds texture as well as subtle colour effects. Here parks found a style which was to be their trade mark. They began to create 'sculptures' by planting massed tiny plants on wire frameworks. The idea quickly lost its appeal to country estate gardeners, but park gardeners found the constant originality of the designs of both beds and three-dimensional objects were extremely popular. Visitors seemed to glory in the brash garishness of concepts such as partly unrolled carpets (as in 'carpet bedding'), crowns and urns, and ultimately, in 1903, the soon to be ubiquitous, floral clock.

Parks became a feature of urban life, giving people the opportunity to dress up and socialise, enjoy organised amusements like music and dancing, and participate in sport. There were, however, some reservations regarding the ideas behind parks and the style of their decoration. Bedding plants were useful and cared for when they were in their prime, but when the flowers were finished they were discarded and replaced, in the same way as factory workers or domestic servants might be. Also, the plants were regimented and controlled in ways that were alien to nature. By the last quarter of the century, fashions began to change in private gardens, and writers like William Robinson were leading people to look at native flowers and less formal 'wild' planting. Similarly, there was a movement towards the preservation of wild parts of the countryside for recreation, rather than the creation of artificial landscapes. In 1895 the National Trust was formed to give access to particularly beautiful parts of the countryside which were thought worth preserving. But this did not prevent urban parks remaining popular.

Parks thrived on novelty and also gave their local visitors a sense of pride in 'owning' a park with spectacular displays which were cared for and appreciated. Sometimes local people benefited at the end of the season when flower displays were dismantled and replaced and the plants were given away. New ideas continued to be introduced: rose gardens, alpine gardens, Japanese gardens, and even Shakespeare gardens had their followers, and botanic gardens continued to be kept up. One obvious difficulty with parks, however, was the weather. A visit to a park might mean leaving home for several hours at a time and could only be contemplated if the weather was fine unless shelter was provided. If buildings were made of glass, flower displays could continue there all year round, whatever the weather. Conservatories became ideal places in which to hold horticultural exhibitions and competitions. This was part of what may be described as the 'spectacularisation' of flower shows, as they became attractions to the public in their own right, like any other form of entertainment or amusement.

Section (ii). Horticultural societies.

We have already seen how flower shows had been held for centuries by florists' societies, concentrating on breeding new flowers in accordance with specialised requirements and rules. These shows were mainly of interest to the members of the society themselves, and perhaps their families and friends. However, as horticultural societies expanded and florists' societies became dominated by nurserymen, shows became of greater interest to the general public. By the mid-century flowers were an interesting subject in themselves for many people and the Victorian love of socialising and greater ease of travel made a day or evening out at a flower show a pleasurable prospect. Paxton and the Crystal Palace Company were astute enough to instigate flower shows as one of the attractions at Sydenham. For several years after the opening in 1856 they held three shows a year with over £2,350 in prize money⁷, classes for amateurs and nurserymen being separate. By 1860, however, the company only held one show a year, the amateurs and nurserymen showing together and only £531 in prize money⁸. It was, however, in the opinion of the *Gardeners' Chronicle*, a spectacular show. They commented, 'Never before perhaps were so many plants brought together on one occasion as there was on this'⁹. The displays included pelargoniums and roses in pots, Indian azaleas, fruit, stove and greenhouse plants, orchids, cape heaths, fine foliaged plants and calceolarias.

Instead of running their own shows, the Crystal Palace Company then allowed other horticultural societies to hold their own shows at the palace. In 1860 there was the National Rose Show (attended by over sixteen thousand people), the National Hollyhock Show, the Dahlia and Fruit Show and a three day Amateur Chrysanthemum Show. There was obviously money to be made in bringing these societies in and letting them do the work of organisation, but not everyone agreed it was a good idea. The *Floral World*¹⁰ reported that the Crystal Palace shows did not encourage small growers and that the shows lacked the character of local shows. This was echoed by correspondence from readers in the *Gardeners' Chronicle*, who said that although the show was well arranged and laid out, the vastness of the surroundings and their ornate decoration dwarfed the plants, however spectacular. They did not believe the shows would ever be a success horticulturally. The readers also criticised the Botanical Society's show in Regent's Park, for having the tents spread out at random, rather than in an orderly fashion, and

⁷ See *Gardeners' Chronicle*, 31 May 1856, p. 374, 28 June 1856, p. 438, and 13 September 1856, p. 614.

⁸ *Gardeners' Chronicle*, 28 April 1860, p. 387.

⁹ *Gardeners' Chronicle*, 2 June 1860, p. 505.

¹⁰ *Floral World*, July 1860, p. 142.

for the plant displays being too gaudy and exuberant¹¹. It seems that the more ornate and magnificent the displays were to attract the general public, the less the horticultural experts liked them.

But whatever the views of the professionals, horticultural societies multiplied throughout the century in many different forms. Like allotments, they were approved by many people for their moral tone. In 1830 Loudon quoted an extract from the *Stockport Advertiser* publicising a new floral and horticultural society:

Cultivation of fruits and flowers ought to be encouraged as recreation. It is conducive to health, attaching men to their homes, preventing a life of dissipation: for every rank of person, from humble cottager with his favourite auriculas and polyanthuses, to a lady of fashion with tender exotics; botanists who look closer at plants cannot fail to see the work of the Creator; of all luxurious indulgences, that of the cultivation of flowers is the most innocent¹².

The *Banbury Guardian* conveyed a similar sentiment in 1866 when reporting the local flower show:

Floriculture and horticulture while being health giving is also a pure and harmless recreation, which may be engaged in by individuals of either sex and of all stations in life – the peasant as well as the peer, the overtoiled man of business and the industrious artisan, on every imaginable scale from a single flower pot to the princely conservatory¹³.

Horticultural societies, like other aspects of nineteenth century life, were defined or divided by social class. Local horticultural associations were set up in country towns and villages to encourage amateur gardening, and were usually patronised by the dominant estate owner or gentry. Shows helped to uphold the identity of a town or village, providing something for the inhabitants to be proud of, in the same way that the municipal parks did in cities. The Horticultural Society for Stamford Hill (now in north-east London, but until the 1870s a separate suburb) was instituted in 1833:

This society, which is strictly confined to the Gentry of the vicinity, numbers upwards of 300 of the most influential families among its supporters. Members are elected by ballot, on introduction of a member of the council. The Exhibitions, of which there are three in the course of each season, are held in the months of May, June and July under tents, erected in the grounds of Arthur Craven esq. or Josiah Wilson esq. A full military band attends each show¹⁴.

¹¹ See *Gardeners' Chronicle*, 31 May 1856, p. 374, 7 June 1856, p. 390, and 14 June 1856, p. 406.

¹² *Gardener's Magazine*, October 1830, p. 598, quoting the *Stockport Advertiser* of 5 March 1830.

¹³ Quoted in Hugh Cunningham, *Leisure in the Industrial Revolution 1780-1880* (Croom Helm, 1980).

¹⁴ *Turner's Hackney Directory* 1849, p. 255.

A report in the *Gardeners' Chronicle* in 1846¹⁵ recorded that their first exhibition of the year attracted a thousand visitors.

An example of a society thriving a little later in the century was The Wantage Horticultural Society in Oxfordshire, run by local tradesmen with the object of promoting knowledge of and interest in horticulture and to encourage cottagers in the culture of their gardens¹⁶. The members paid a minimum of five shillings a year subscription. This allowed entry to the show by a member and one other person. A larger subscription entitled a member to bring up to four people. To enter a specimen or collection of produce for a prize at the show cost sixpence for each item. However, cottagers could pay one fee of sixpence for all their entries in the cottagers' classes. These would be exhibited on separate tables, and cottagers could only exhibit by invitation of a subscriber. Professional gardeners were excluded from cottagers' classes, and the classes were limited to those paying not more than £7 a year for their cottage and garden. Shows were open to members of the public paying for tickets, as well as subscribers and their guests. The cottager exhibitors were allowed in only for the last hour of the show by producing special tickets.

It can be seen from these examples that upper and middle class patronage played its part in horticultural societies as well as in the allotment movement. At Stamford Hill the gentry provided the site for the show; at Wantage, cottagers were only allowed in by invitation from a member of the society. At many shows local gentry or aristocrats provided prizes and may have attended to present them. They gave an air of respectability and approval to the proceedings, thus making gardening 'acceptable' as a pastime.

There still remained the problem of the professional versus the amateur. As in sport, where the two types of player were kept separate, so in gardening; as it developed in popularity and competitions increased, a complicated structure of rules developed to prevent different classes competing against each other. In the example of the Wantage show, the professionals were kept out of the cottagers' classes. There were two classes of professional gardeners who might be involved: gentlemen's gardeners who wanted to compete as amateurs when growing their own plants in their spare time, and florists, who may have been self taught, but who earned some money, if not their total income, from selling plants. There was further

¹⁵ *Gardeners' Chronicle*, 20 June 1846.

¹⁶ The rules of the society can be found in the Berkshire Record Office, ref. D/Ex610/2.

controversy in flower shows concerning people competing as amateurs but actually employing gardeners to produce the plants. The *Gardener's Weekly Magazine* commented:

By the term Amateur Gardener is commonly understood one who, having a fondness for gardening (flowers principally), cultivates them either solely by himself, or at least with small help from others, and not as a means of obtaining his livelihood. We are aware that it is frequently the case to allow gentlemen such as are referred to by our friend to compete in the Amateurs' class – but would, in such case, prefer to see the professional gardener employed by them receive the honour and the credit that is fairly his due, by the plants being regularly entered in his name¹⁷.

A London show that was praised by the *Floral World* was that of the Tower Hamlets Floricultural Society, held at the Eagle Tavern, Mile End, because it was mainly patronised by local amateurs:

A result far preferable to the crowding of the tables with nursery stock, intended much more to advertise trading firms than to promote a genuine love of horticulture¹⁸.

It has already been mentioned that by the middle of the century the traditional florists' societies had given way to many more societies concerned with a wider range of plants. These societies were dominated by professional nurserymen who were competing in exhibitions all over the country. It was the subject of complaint by many people who regretted the changes which were coming about. The view of the *Midland Florist* in 1847 was:

It cannot have escaped the notice of florists generally, that their community does not contain so many purely amateur exhibitors as it formerly did; and this must be a matter of regret to all, and lead them to the inference that the pleasures in connection with exhibitions have an alloy which makes their pursuit questionable, if not possibly objectionable¹⁹.

The writer went on to state that in his opinion the subscriptions were too low and the shows were not attracting enough good competitors as it was not worth their while to go there for the prizes on offer. What he seemed to be saying was that the best nurserymen were not attracted and therefore only the inferior ones appeared. The following year there was a discussion about agreeing codes of conduct among exhibitors to prevent dishonesty, particularly in relation to suspicions that plants were not grown by the exhibitors themselves, to which some contributors replied that a good society would not need such rules²⁰.

¹⁷ *Gardener's Weekly Magazine*, 10 September 1860, p. 160.

¹⁸ *Floral World*, October 1860, p. 222.

¹⁹ *Midland Florist*, November 1847, p.373.

²⁰ *Midland Florist*, April 1848, pp. 53, 126.

In 1852 the *Midland Florist* gave a list of Floral Exhibitions for the year throughout the country which consisted of thirty-seven shows, being thirteen tulip shows, six carnation and picotee shows, six pink shows, three gooseberry shows, one auricula show and eight general societies or those concentrating on more than one flower. These ranged across the whole country and although they may not have been exhaustive, show that the traditional florists' societies mainly persisted in the north and midlands. The thirteen tulip shows are a far cry, however, from the twenty-two mentioned by Loudon in the London area alone in 1826²¹. Times had changed, and as usual, new trends started in London.

An example of one of the new societies being formed was the Stoke Newington Chrysanthemum Society in north-east London²². The chrysanthemum was regarded as a peculiarly 'metropolitan' flower, after having been introduced to Britain in 1790. The society was started in a small way by a group of friends, professional gardeners and amateurs, who met in a local pub, the landlord of which was also an amateur grower. Soon there were regular meetings held throughout the year when members took it in turns to give talks on cultivation, and an annual dinner was held. The exhibitions started to be held in local halls, money prizes and some trophies were presented and growers began to come from all over London and the south of England. By the 1870s interest began to wane as there were so many other societies, but the audiences returned when fruit and foliage plants were introduced to the shows, which created a greater spectacle. By the 1880s the Stoke Newington society was the most important chrysanthemum society in Britain with seven hundred members and an income of £850 per year. It resolved to name itself the National Chrysanthemum Society, following other societies such as the National Rose Society, which had been created in 1876. Shirley Hibberd, who had been a member of the society in the 1860s went as far as to say that chrysanthemum shows held on dark November evenings actually lowered the suicide rate, as they cheered people up so much:

Chrysanthemum growing became a metropolitan floral fashion – perhaps a mania, and a very good one, for it appears that from the date of the dethronement of Louis Philippe [1848], and the first multiplication of chrysanthemum societies, November suicides began to decrease in number, so that now every well-intentioned city, town, and village has its annual show, the month of November is found to be less characterised by suicides than any month of the year, because, of course, it is the most cheerful month in all the year²³.

This may have been something of an exaggeration, but shows how dramatic the effect of a flower show could be: imagine walking from a dark, damp, foggy November evening into a hall full of brightly lit

²¹ See *Gardener's Magazine*, July 1826, p. 347.

²² See Anne Wilkinson, 'Stoke Newington and the Golden Flower' (*Hackney History*, 1999), p. 22.

golden yellow, orange and white flowers and being surrounded by the overpowering characteristic scent of chrysanthemums. In an age before films and television, flower shows may have been one of the most spectacular things anyone could see in the winter (see Illustration 16).

The trend to form national societies for all popular plants fitted conveniently with the policy of the Royal Horticultural Society which was gradually becoming accepted as a national society with provincial branches, and whose rules governed the shows of affiliated societies. The society had originated in 1804 but throughout much of the nineteenth century it was doubtful whether it would survive because of maladministration by its officers and arguments among its members as to how it should be financed and run. It was formed as the Horticultural Society on the model of the learned societies of the eighteenth century, and was set up by several gentlemen-scientists, including Sir Joseph Banks (1743-1820), and royal gardeners such as W. Townsend Aiton (1768-1843)²⁴. They published their *Transactions* and leased a garden in Chiswick from the Duke of Devonshire. However, the financial problems came to a head in the 1850s and 60s and the society was forced to sell its herbarium, premises and, eventually, its library. New administration and the patronage of the Prince Consort, leading to a royal charter in 1861, helped the society's fortunes and by the 1860s it was replanning its gardens in both Chiswick and Kensington and organising conferences for delegates from abroad as well as Britain. Royal patronage clearly helped the Horticultural Society in encouraging gardening as a leisure activity among all classes. Prince Albert's involvement showed that gardening would be counted among the other arts that the prince was interested in and practised himself.

Many of the society's difficulties sprung from disagreement among members as to where subscriptions should come from and who should be allowed to visit the gardens and attend the shows. Once again, it was the differences of opinion over accepting the lower classes and the professionals and whether they could be regarded as respectable gardeners. With or without the support of the Royal Horticultural Society, however, the general public had shown that they wanted displays of flowers, whether in parks or at shows. There was an interest in the spectacle for its own sake, and there was an interest in the flowers themselves. If people had gardens, they would have flowers, and the newer the better. Novelty was how nurserymen made their living: bringing out new hybrids and showing the public how to grow them

²³ *Gardener's Magazine*, 25 November 1876, p. 629.

²⁴ For a comprehensive history of the society, see Harold R. Fletcher, *The Story of the Royal Horticultural Society 1804-1968* (Oxford University Press, 1969).

magnificently. By the 1850s and 60s the retail trade was expanding, demand was growing, and there was a desperate need for information by all amateur gardeners.

Chapter 7. Women and clergymen.

There are two classes of people who stand out as gardeners in the nineteenth century perhaps because, as Dr Johnson said about a woman's preaching, it is like a dog walking on its hind legs. It is not done well, but you are surprised to find it done at all¹. However, in the case of gardening, these people, women and clergymen, often did it very well. Considering the style and heaviness of women's clothing and the image of helplessness created around them in the nineteenth century, it may seem extraordinary to people of the twenty-first century that they could have managed digging and pushing wheelbarrows across muddy ground, but of course nineteenth century women were used to dealing with the difficulties of life in heavy long clothing and corsets. Plenty of women, such as servants and farmers' wives, had to take part in hard physical work whether they liked it or not. As to the clergymen, although they may have had the physical capacity to do the work, one wonders whether the dignity of their position would have prevented them from carrying out the more menial tasks. However, from the middle of the century there was an increasing number of clergymen who became well known as gardening writers and several who became involved with the administration of horticultural societies. Gardening seems to fit in well with the other activities that clergymen indulged in, such as natural history and geology.

Section (i). Women.

What may have been more challenging for women than the practical difficulties of gardening was the underlying belief that physical work was unhealthy and potentially damaging for women. This attitude may have produced opposition from husbands or male relatives who would have disapproved of anything as supposedly dangerous or undignified. On the other hand, gardening, and the appreciation of gardens, can also be regarded as an art form, and as such would have been encouraged by many husbands and fathers in the same way that music, painting and fine needlework was: as a desirable accomplishment for a lady. Even women from lower social classes would have been encouraged to admire flowers as decoration for the home and cottage garden. The flower garden was traditionally considered the responsibility of the women of the house, while men took charge of the food crops. The exception to this was the herb garden, as verified by Flora Thompson in *Lark Rise to Candleford*:

¹ Boswell's *Life of Johnson*, 31 July 1763.

As well as their flower garden, the women cultivated a herb corner, stocked with thyme and parsley and sage for cooking, rosemary to flavour the home-made lard, lavender to scent the best clothes, and peppermint, pennyroyal, horehound, camomile, tansy, balm and rue for physic. They made a good deal of camomile tea, which they drank freely to ward off colds, to soothe the nerves, and as a general tonic².

Opposition to women taking part in gardening is not, however, apparent in nineteenth century books and magazine articles on the subject. Even the articles written by men encourage women to learn about choosing plants, propagating, watering and pest control, even if not the heavier work. It may be significant that amateur gardening took place in the confines of the home, which was largely the woman's domain and would not have entailed their carrying out physical tasks in public. The female writers on gardening, who encouraged women to take on digging and heavier work outside, particularly emphasised the benefits of being in the fresh air and learning about nature.

One of the gardeners most admired by Loudon was Louisa Lawrence (c. 1803-1855). She was the wife of William Lawrence, a medical practitioner who attended Loudon, as well as Queen Victoria. Loudon described and illustrated the Lawrences' garden at Drayton Green, Middlesex, in the *Gardener's Magazine*³ (see Illustration 4). Mrs Lawrence planned and supervised the garden of about two acres, which Loudon describes as containing many rare and beautiful flowering shrubs, as well as the clumps of trees already there when she took over the garden. The other remarkable features were the greenhouse and hothouse plants, which were 'among the most select and valuable in the neighbourhood of London'. At the time Loudon was writing, Mrs Lawrence had received fifty-three medals from the Horticultural Society, but she does not seem to have written any books. How much practical work she did in the garden herself is not mentioned. She employed six gardeners during the summer, with one or two women for collecting insects and dead leaves. The staff was reduced to three gardeners in the winter. Loudon commented that there was a smaller number of gardeners than may have been expected.

Loudon writes about Mrs Lawrence because of her impeccable taste in gardening. He uses her garden as an example of what other gardeners who may not have her means and advantages can do in their gardens:

It is worthy of remark, that a good deal of the interest attached to the groups on the lawn of the Lawrencian villa depends on the plants which are planted in the rockwork. Now, though everyone cannot procure American ferns, and other plants of such rarity and beauty as are there displayed, yet there are hundreds of alpine, and many British ferns, which may be easily procured from botanic gardens, or by one botanist from another; and, even if no

² Flora Thompson, *Lark Rise to Candleford* (Penguin, 1973), p. 115.

³ *Gardener's Magazine*, July 1838, pp. 306-322.

perennials could be obtained suitable for rockwork, there are the Californian annuals, which alone are sufficient to clothe erections of this kind with great beauty and variety of colouring⁴.

Loudon's approval of Mrs Lawrence shows that he was prepared to accept women as equals in matters of gardening taste, whether or not he expected them to go out and weed and dig themselves. In Loudon's own work, when assessing how gardens would be run, he frequently refers to women as essential helpers in the garden, particularly for watering and insect-collecting. Loudon's own wife, Jane, certainly was a practical gardener. It seems that Loudon at least had no qualms about women doing physical work. We have already heard how she explained that amateurs found it difficult to read books by professional gardeners. In her book, *Gardening for Ladies*, she recommends tools and equipment which are suitable for women, including a small spade, clogs to put over shoes, or a small plate of iron to go under the sole of the shoe and fastened with a leather strap, stiff, thick leather gloves or gauntlets, and a light wheelbarrow⁵. She stresses the benefits to health and even describes the process of digging, in as much detail as her husband showed in his plans and instructions for suburban gardens:

A lady, with a small light spade may, by taking time, succeed in doing all the digging that can be required in a small garden, the soil of which, if it has been long in cultivation, can never be very hard or difficult to penetrate, and she will not only have the satisfaction of seeing the garden created, as it were, by the labour of her own hands, but she will find her health and spirits wonderfully improved by the exercise, and by the reviving smell of the fresh earth⁶.

Jane Loudon started publishing the *Ladies Magazine of Gardening* in 1842, but because of her husband's ill health she had to abandon it after the first year. What little we have of the magazine shows that she took gardening seriously, herself writing about the history of flowers and descriptions of gardens, and she published letters from other ladies. She clearly felt it was important to encourage women and concentrate on what they could do themselves, rather than what they could not do. After John Loudon's death, Mrs Loudon carried on with his books, bringing out new editions, and presumably kept up the garden of their own house.

Another practical woman gardener of the same era as Jane Loudon was the anonymous author of the *Handbook on Town Gardening*, referred to earlier. I have not discovered her identity, but she may have been Louisa Johnson (dates unknown), a writer and painter who published *Every Lady Her Own Flower*

⁴ *Gardener's Magazine*, July 1838, p. 322.

⁵ Jane Loudon, *Gardening for Ladies* (John Murray, 1840), pp. 9-11.

⁶ *Gardening for Ladies*, pp. 8-9.

Gardener (1843) and *Every Lady's Guide to Her Own Greenhouse* (1851)⁷. Presumably the *Handbook on Town Gardening* was published anonymously because the 'lady' did not feel it was suitable to put her name to a book which was published for profit. The problem did not arise for Mrs Loudon because she was already known as a writer and was working with her husband, in effect as a journalist. The 'lady' also wrote about the practical aspects of gardening, although she expected to have a labourer to do the heaviest work such as digging large holes, but she sounds as if she would certainly have been outside directing operations.

At the present time, the best known woman gardener of the nineteenth century is probably Gertrude Jekyll⁸, although she did not appear in print until the 1890s and had more impact in the early twentieth century. However, she was one of the people responsible for the 'gentrification' of gardening, by which it became acceptable for upper middle class people to be seen to be paid for, or even make a living out of, writing about design and taste. She was part of a group of men and women with a passion for gardening who not only made it respectable but made it fashionable, and helped to create the feeling that gardening was part of the British heritage. Gertrude Jekyll is best known for designing gardens to accompany houses designed by Edwin Lutyens, but wrote compellingly about flowers with an authority which must have come from minute observation. She worked exclusively for the wealthy, but her advice can be followed by anyone with an interest in gardening.

Two of Jekyll's friends who became well known gardeners in different ways were Mrs C.W. Earle (Theresa Earle) (1836-1925) and Ellen Willmott (1858-1934). Mrs Earle⁹ was a well connected upper middle class woman who, like Jekyll, had studied art when young. She published *Pot-Pourri from a Surrey Garden* in 1897, which was so popular it was followed by three more *Pot-Pourri* books and reputedly made her £30,000, although her husband is said to have offered to pay her not to publish the book. Again, like Jekyll, she mainly appealed to the wealthy, but gave good and interesting advice and practical ideas for everyone. Ellen Willmott¹⁰ was not predominantly a writer but a wealthy amateur who created a garden at Warley Place in Essex and later gardens in both France and Italy. She is known as a

⁷ Louisa Johnson is mentioned in Deborah Kellaway, ed., *The Virago Book of Women Gardeners* (Virago Press, 1996) p. 264.

⁸ See *Virago Book of Women Gardeners*, pp. xii-xiv; Miles Hadfield, *A History of British Gardening* (Penguin, 1985), pp. 363-4, 366-72; Brent Elliott, *Victorian Gardens* (B. T. Batsford Ltd, 1990), pp. 206-9; Sally Festing, *Gertrude Jekyll* (Viking, 1991); Jane Brown, *Gardens of a Golden Afternoon* (Penguin, 1982); and Betty Massingham, *Miss Jekyll, Portrait of a Great Gardener* (David and Charles, 1984).

⁹ See *Virago Book of Women Gardeners*, pp. xi-xii; *A History of British Gardening*, p. 368; and Mrs C.W. Earle, *Pot-Pourri from a Surrey Garden* (Smith Elder, 1897; repr. Century and the National Trust, 1984).

collector of rare and unusual plants and although she claimed to go out and weed her own gardens, she was said to employ over eighty gardeners.

One of the important points about the women writers, particularly those in the early part of the century, is that they give us an insight into the problems of all amateurs, both male and female, in having very little information to go on and not being listened to. Almost all the male writers at the time were professional gardeners or botanists, or were experienced florists, and they assumed that their readership was composed almost entirely of other professionals. The notable exceptions were Shirley Hibberd and George W. Johnson (1802-1886), who will be looked at in detail in later chapters, and who were influential in starting magazines for other amateurs. By the time the later women mentioned were writing, amateur gardening had received acceptance and there was nothing peculiar or unusual in it, nor in middle and upper class people publishing books under their own names.

It is difficult to know how far women were seriously considered as readers of gardening magazines. When the *Gardeners' Chronicle* started to include articles for amateurs in the 1850s, one was entitled 'a word for the ladies'. It stated:

The *Gardeners' Chronicle* is indeed, to a great extent, a gentleman's paper, yet there is much information scattered up and down its pages adapted for the gentler sex. If, when the paper is laid on the table, the ladies who love gardening will favour us with their attention, we shall hope to assist them in their pleasing employment¹¹.

Its view on women was as follows:

Ladies are great gardeners on a small scale, and a vast majority of the homes which are made more cheerful and elegant by flowers owe their charm to their hands. They generally love flowers for their own sake, and their attachment is less mingled than that of men with considerations of interest, such as beating their neighbours in their feats of horticultural skill, or adding a respectable adjunct to their domain. A woman looks upon a flower as she does upon a child, with an affection abstracted from external considerations of what trouble it will occasion, or what it will cost to keep. And as her principles are more pure in the department of gardening and its ends, so her pleasures are more simple and deep.

*

The wife, on a fine June morning, is watering and transplanting, and anxiously training up to perfection some floral beauties, and a little help in stooping or carrying mould would then be a great boon. But the husband looks listlessly on and does nothing – or rather, as is too often the case, he grumbles at the time and labour bestowed; and in his careless perambulation sets his foot on the choicest pet of the neatly kept border. But, 'Sigh no more

¹⁰ See *Virago Book of Women Gardeners*, pp. xiv-xv; *A History of British Gardening*, pp. 374-5.

¹¹ *Gardeners' Chronicle*, 1858, p. 477.

ladies, sigh no more,' for you have resources in yourselves in this department which will easily make you independent of all but labours of love, and contented to be without aid grudgingly bestowed¹².

It therefore suggests that women were openly playing a significant part in gardening in the home in the 1850s and although they may have welcomed help with the heavier work, they were quite capable of learning the skills of gardening, planning the planting and providing pleasure for the whole family. It also emphasises the idea that the garden was a status symbol, for men at least.

One way of gauging the strength of women as consumers in the nineteenth century is to look at the advertisements in the periodicals and see how women are depicted. Many show them using equipment such as syringes and pruning shears (see Illustration 5A) and stress that products such as guano are clean and safe enough for women to use. This suggests that women did have the buying power, or at least had influence over the men of the family if they were providing the finance.

Apart from Jane Loudon's magazine, there appear to be no others gardening magazines specifically for women, although general women's magazines would have included gardening among the features on fashion, home and cookery. It is likely that publishers would fear a gardening magazine aimed at women only would not be economically feasible: it would not attract any male readers, whereas general gardening magazines would attract both men and women. Looking at the correspondence columns in magazines unfortunately does not assist in knowing who the readers were. Most letters are signed with initials only, or initials and surnames, or pseudonyms, so they give no indication of gender. The only exception I found was one signed 'a farmer's daughter'.

There were several regular women contributors to gardening magazines as writers, as early as the 1860s¹³. Francis Jane Hope (d. 1880) gardened at Wardie Lodge, Edinburgh. She emphasised the importance of old-fashioned flowers, and was particularly keen on hellebores. She also suggested novel ways of using vegetables, such as kale and ornamental gourds, decoratively. She therefore conformed to the stereotype of women concentrating on flowers and the design side of gardening. She wrote for the *Cottage Gardener*, the *Gardeners' Chronicle* and the *Garden*¹⁴. In the 1870s Mrs Francis Foster (dates unknown)

¹² *Gardeners' Chronicle*, 1858, p. 477.

¹³ There is a section on Victorian women gardeners in Jane Brown, *The Pursuit of Paradise* (Harper Collins, 1999): see pp. 116-129.

¹⁴ See *Cottage Gardener*, 1860, p. 319; *Gardeners' Chronicle*, 1863, p. 125; *Garden*, 7 February 1874.

wrote for the *Gardeners' Chronicle*¹⁵, and in 1881 published *On the Art of Gardening* in book form. Another frequent contributor to the *Chronicle* was Eleanor Vere Boyle (1825-1916), who wrote as E.V.B. between 1882 and 1885. She was both a writer and an illustrator and the wife of a parish rector. She redesigned the garden at their home, Huntercombe Manor in Buckinghamshire, and also published *Days and Hours in a Garden* in the early 1880s.

It was not only garden design which occupied women as writers; by the end of the century they were also gaining acceptance in the academic world. Alicia Amherst (1865-1941) wrote *The History of Gardening in England*, published in about 1895, and Ellen Willmott published *The Genus Rosa* between 1910 and 1914. Botany, and particularly botanical illustration, had long been thought to be an appropriate pastime for women. Many women artists contributed illustrations to periodicals, indeed botanical illustration seems to have been one of the most acceptable ways that women could earn a living, if they had to. Benjamin Fawcett, one of the best botanical engravers, took on both girls and boys at the age of about fourteen for training¹⁶. Many women artists, not surprisingly, came from families of artists and engravers and probably would have been expected to assist in the family business from an early age. Loudon's sister was an illustrator and part of the willing family workforce. A successful woman artist on a larger scale was Anne Pratt (1806-1893). She produced *The Flowering Plants, Grasses, Sedges and Ferns of Great Britain* in 1889 with her own watercolour illustrations. Another who travelled much further afield was Marianne North (1830-1890). She had acted as a companion to her father, accompanying him around Europe and Egypt. After his death, when she was thirty-nine, she went to the South of France to contemplate her future and decided to devote herself to painting from nature 'and try to learn from the lovely world which surrounded me there how to make that work henceforth the master of my life'. She explored every continent until her health failed, and produced 832 paintings for which she provided a gallery in the Royal Botanic Gardens, Kew¹⁷.

Women painters and illustrators were not necessarily gardeners, although they may have been useful recorders of contemporary gardens. Several women were landscape painters who specialised in horticultural subjects. Helen Allingham (1848-1926) is one of the best known for her depictions of country scenes and cottage gardens. A later woman painter was Lilian Stannard (1877-1944), much of

¹⁵ See *Gardeners' Chronicle*, 1874, ii, p. 551; 1876, ii 163-4.

¹⁶ See Ray Desmond, 'A Note on Benjamin Fawcett', in Francis Perry, *Beautiful Leaved Plants* (Scolar Press, 1979), p. 132.

whose work concentrates on late Victorian and Edwardian country house gardens. The woman's role as artist could also be extended to include other aspects of floral art, in particular flower arranging. Annie Hassard (dates unknown) became a well known professional flower arrangers, winning many awards and publishing *Floral Decorations for Dwelling Houses* in 1875.

The role of women in charity work and philanthropy is frequently manifest through gardening. Mrs Mary Ann Gilbert, started allotments at Beachy Head, Sussex, in connection with a school for pauper children. In 1835 she had 213 tenants and sent potatoes to Lord Liverpool to show what could be produced¹⁸. Francis Hope used large quantities of the flowers and herbs she grew at Wardie Lodge in 'flower missions' whereby she sent appropriate plants to the poor and the sick, rejecting hothouse flowers in favour of native plants that the recipients would recognise or appreciate for their healing qualities¹⁹.

As to professional women gardeners, there are occasional references to women florists and nursery proprietors in gardening magazines. One who stands out was Martha Elizabeth Jackson (active 1790s – 1820s) who was author of *The Florist's Manual*, published in 1822. As florists needed no formal training, there was nothing to prevent women setting themselves up as such, although usually they would have come into a florist or nursery business through their husband or father having died and being left to carry on alone. There would be no question of women training as professional gardeners in the usual way through apprenticeship. The only female practical or professional gardeners seem to be 'weeding women' who were said to be paid eight to tenpence a day in David Stuart's *The Garden Triumphant*²⁰. This may have been a significant addition to the family income of a cottager.

It was therefore as amateurs that women stand out in nineteenth century gardening, both in practical ways, contributing to the welfare of their families and neighbours, but also representing the difficulties of amateurs, both female and male. Their voices may not have been heard by the professionals in the early part of the century, but other amateurs found their work useful and encouraging. However, by the end of the century, the roles of professionals and amateurs were not quite so clear-cut. As the position of head gardener in a large establishment was gradually becoming undermined by amateurs taking over the design of gardens and the matters of taste, so women were able to assume a much stronger position. Two

¹⁷ See *A Vision of Eden, The Life and Work of Marianne North*, ed. J.P.M. Brenan (Webb & Bower, 1980).

¹⁸ See, David Crouch and Colin Ward, *The Allotment* (Mushroom Bookshop, 1994), p. 54.

¹⁹ See Jane Brown, *The Pursuit of Paradise* (Harper Collins, 1999), p. 122.

women, at least, expressed this quite emphatically. Mrs Edith L. Chamberlain (active 1890s) complained in *The Gentlewomen's Book of Gardening* (1892) about the 'indiscriminating male gardener' who was only interested in visual qualities in plants, not their scent. Mrs Martha Jane Loftie (active 1860s-1890s) went as far as to suggest 'a crusade against the modern gardener, a tyrannical and prosaic creature' and wanted to replace trained gardeners with uneducated labourers who would be willing to do as they were told²¹.

Section (ii). Clergymen.

Clergymen had much in common with women as gardeners in the nineteenth century. Both often found themselves in possession of a garden through outside circumstances. Although both may have inherited the garden independently, women often found themselves in control because their husbands owned the garden, but the wife was the one who had the time or inclination to take an interest in it. In the case of clergymen, they may have acquired it through their employment, and because of the nature of the job, like women, they may have had the leisure time to pursue an interest in it. Although most of the people mentioned here were wealthy enough to employ gardeners, they may not have had enough money to employ a large staff and would therefore have to take on the role of head gardener themselves.

Both clergy and ladies were also in the position of having to be seen to set a good example: women had to look after and educate their children and may have had to do a certain amount of charity work; clergymen similarly were seen as leaders and example-setters of the parish. Both were usually dependent on others for a living and were therefore outside the forces of economic life. A woman may have been regarded as 'the angel of the hearth' and a clergyman similarly was in a position of observer and guardian of the morals of the parish.

Clergymen in the nineteenth century were invariably gentlemen and Oxbridge educated with intellectual leanings. The best livings provided large houses in beautiful settings and allowed the incumbent plenty of leisure time. As the century progressed the clergy seem to have grown less prosperous, perhaps because of the declining fortunes of agriculture, which reduced the value of livings. They began to be expected to dedicate themselves to their vocation, rather than simply representing a position in society. It was no

²⁰ See David Stuart, *The Garden Triumphant* (Viking, 1988), Chapter 8.

longer acceptable to be seen as a fox-hunting or hard-drinking cleric. Many took to history, linguistics or philosophy, as well as natural history and theology. Charles Kingsley (1819-1875), one of the best known naturalist-clergymen, explained in *Glaucus; or the Wonders of the Shore* (published in 1855) how when he was young the naturalist had been regarded as a harmless enthusiast 'who went "bug-hunting" simply because he had not the spirit to follow a fox'²². He claimed in the same book that the interest in natural history originated with the publication in 1789 of Gilbert White's *Natural History of Selborne*²³. White, of course, was also a clergyman.

Kingsley was a practitioner in the concept of 'muscular Christianity', which involved a belief that fresh air and exercise brought people nearer to God. He recommended fern-collecting, known as Pteridomania, for young ladies as an alternative to the usual pastimes of needlework:

You cannot deny that they find an enjoyment in it, and are more active, more cheerful, more self-forgetful over it, than they would have been over novels and gossip, crochet and Berlin-wool. At least you will confess that the abomination of 'Fancy-work', that standing cloak for dreamy idleness, ... has all but vanished from your drawing room since the 'lady-ferns' and 'Venus's hair' appeared²⁴.

The idea of muscular Christianity led some clergymen to take an active interest in gardening themselves, and it therefore became an appropriate pastime both for clergymen personally, and as something in which they could encourage their parishioners, for the usual reasons of keeping them away from drink and gambling.

Others preferred to concentrate on the science of botany, rather than horticulture. Several of the early nineteenth century botanical magazines were edited by clergymen: the Rev. John Henslow (1796-1861) was professor of botany at Cambridge and creator of the Cambridge Botanic Garden and he edited the *Botanist*. Another botanical editor was the Rev. James Rennie (1787-1867), who was associated with early editions of the *Magazine of Botany*. Henslow's son, the Rev. George Henslow (1835-1925) had a career as a headmaster, but he also wrote and lectured on gardening and was Honorary Professor of Botany to the Royal Horticultural Society.

²¹ Mrs Loftie, *Social Twitters* (1879), quoted in Brent Elliott, *Victorian Gardens* (B.T. Batsford Ltd, 1986), p. 214.

²² Quoted in Lynn Barber, *The Heyday of Natural History 1820-1870* (Doubleday & Co, New York, 1980, published in Britain by Jonathan Cape), p 14.

²³ See *The Heyday of Natural History 1820-1870*, p. 15.

One clergyman had ventured into writing about gardening early in the nineteenth century and, like the early women writers, preferred to do it anonymously. Nathaniel Paterson published *The Manse Garden* in about 1837. He was a minister in Berwickshire and went about trying to renovate and maintain a neglected garden without much help. He encountered the usual problem amateurs had: not knowing where to find advice. He remedied it in the usual way: he taught himself, and then wrote a book to help others. He explained some of the problems thus:

And then some of the finer fancy pieces of work, such as budding and grafting, which in their nature are very captivating, and as simple as splicing a rope, cannot appear in a book of science without portentous minutiae about saddles and scions, that deter from all attempts, and make it appear that nothing short of a regular apprenticeship can qualify for the mystery. Kind reader, I mean to deliver thee from the killing toil of ponderosity, and from the awe of mystery; from the perplexity of needless varieties, and from prescriptions for which you have no use, or which, being worse than useless, prove false, by having no adaptation to your climate. It is simply the purpose of this little manual to suit the medium climate of North Britain, including a goodly portion of the south, to consult the economy of ministers; to make every manse garden a model of neatness and fertility; to give shelter and seclusion to the meditative walk of the pastor, and plenty of pot-herbs, fruits and flowers, to his tasteful and thrifty wife. But the secret must be out; that to these ends it is nearly indispensable that the minister should be his own gardener, wholly as to knowledge, and partially as to work²⁵.

Like many amateurs he seemed to find the menial tasks of gardening worthwhile in their own right, being both productive and satisfying. He saw himself as setting a good example to his parishioners, and in his training of a garden boy (quoted in Part One, Chapter Three) it can be seen that he was concerned to be fair, but strict. He probably saw his role as a teacher as part of his vocation as a priest.

Later in the century, clergymen began to write for the popular gardening magazines. One of the most successful was the Rev. Henry Honeywood D'Ombrian (1818-1905) who wrote as 'D of Deal' in the *Florist* from the 1850s, but wrote under his own name when he started co-editing the *Floral Magazine* in 1862. D'Ombrian was vicar of Westwell, Kent, but had previously lived at Deal. He had grown up in Ireland and helped form the Natural History Society of Dublin. In 1876 he also founded the Horticultural Club. As 'D of Deal' he described how anyone could manage a small garden, assuming he had the time, and as such was in the forefront of promoting gardening among amateurs and those living in towns. He was also a founder member of the National Rose Society, of which he was secretary for twenty-five years. In that society he was joined by several other clergymen, roses apparently having a particular 'draw' for men of the cloth. Samuel Reynolds Hole (1819-1904), Dean of Rochester, was one of the other best known rose devotees. He published several books and wrote for the *Garden* and the *Gardener*, always

²⁴ Quoted in *The Heyday of Natural History 1820-1870*, p. 114.

under his own name. He is a great source of gossip and anecdotes about gardening and claimed to have known almost all his contemporary nurserymen and gardening writers. William Robinson relied on him as a famous name that would attract readers when he started the *Garden* as he was already well known to readers of other papers. Another rose man was the Rev. R. A. Foster-Melliar (d. 1904), who lived at Sproughton Rectory near Ipswich, Suffolk, and published *The Book of the Rose* in 1894.

Another contributor to Robinson's *Garden* was the Rev. Henry T. Ellacombe (1790-1885), who had been trained as an engineer before going into the Church. He described his garden at Bitton, near Bristol, where he lived from 1835 to 1850. Robinson particularly admired it because it was never changed, and did not succumb to the bedding craze. The garden was carried on after Ellacombe's death by his son, Canon Henry N. Ellacombe (1822-1916), who lived there for sixty-eight years. Canon Ellacombe published *In a Gloucestershire Garden* in 1895. He did not claim to be a botanist, but described plants in their natural settings and wrote about plants associated with the works of Chaucer, Shakespeare, and Milton, thus giving gardening another dimension. The Rev. Charles Wolley-Dod (1826-1904) also wrote about plants in garden settings and was particularly interested in tracing their origins so as to provide appropriate habitats in which they could thrive. He had been an assistant master at Eton College and when he married had taken on the additional surname Dod, in order to secure his wife's inheritance of Edge Hall, Cheshire, where he made a garden. He wrote for the *Gardeners' Chronicle* as well as William Robinson's short-lived luxury magazine *Flora and Sylva*. One more notable clergyman in the same mould was the Rev. Henry Harpur-Crewe (1830-1883), rector of Drayton Beauchamp, near Tring, Buckinghamshire, who was responsible for reviving many varieties of traditional herbaceous plants and whose garden was said to contain one of the richest collections of hardy plants in Europe²⁶. These men were all associated with William Robinson in the later part of the century when 'wild gardening' was becoming popular. It is tempting to imagine that they saw gardening as bringing people closer to nature and therefore to God's creations.

Robinson may have favoured clergymen as writers for his magazines in order to maintain the aura of respectability and to appeal to the upper middle class readership, which he knew would help him to succeed in his publishing ventures. Another institution which may have benefited by having them 'on display' was the Royal Horticultural Society. Many of the rose-loving clergy were associated with the

²⁵ Nathaniel Paterson, *The Manse Garden* (James Blackwood & Co, c. 1837), pp. 43-44.

society and its shows and it could have done the society no harm to have had the Rev. William Wilks (1843-1923) as secretary for over twenty-five years. He had been made a Fellow of the society in 1866 and was elected honorary secretary in 1888, later becoming paid secretary²⁷. The president at the time was Sir Trevor Lawrence (1831-1913), the son of Louisa Lawrence, and together they drastically increased the number of Fellows and the amount of income they generated.

Wilks later retired to a garden of his own creation at Shirley, near Croydon, Surrey. He spent many years selectively breeding a new strain of poppies, known as Shirley poppies, and a cooking apple was also named after him. Selective breeding also appealed to the Rev. George Herbert Engleheart (1851-1936), vicar of Chute Forest, Wiltshire, who produced new daffodils in the 1880s and also wrote about the cultivation of vegetables. Perhaps there is a connection between clergymen breeding new plants and Gregor Mendel's work with genetics. The monk lived a secluded life in a monastery and single-mindedly studied peas for years before publishing his theories. Clergymen would have the mental capacity to undertake a programme of selective breeding and would probably have the faith to pursue it for the anticipated results.

A clergyman who was responsible for garden design, rather than writing about plants, was the Rev. Henry Jardine Bidder (1847-1923). As a young Fellow at St John's College, Oxford, he had taken on the supervision of the garden. In 1893 he started a new feature, a rock garden, which he built literally with his own hands. Unlike other early rock gardens, it did not have a naturalistic appearance but was artificial in style, but it made Bidder one of the leaders in popularising so-called 'alpine' plants, or plants suitable for growing in rockeries.

The clergy's role in setting a good example in the parish extended to encouraging cottagers and allotment-holders in gardening. They would have played a conspicuous part in local flower shows, often helping with the judging and presenting the prizes. The booklets called 'Manuals for the Many' published by the *Cottage Gardener* were sold at a discount to 'clergymen and gentlemen who wished to distribute them to their parishioners'²⁸. Like royalty patronising national societies, the clergy would have helped to bolster the importance of flower shows as county or village events. Sutton's Seeds also supplied seeds at

²⁶ See Alex Pankhurst, *Who Does Your Garden Grow?* (Earl's Eye Publishing, 1992), p.24. The book contains short biographies of gardeners after whom plants were named.

²⁷ See *A History of British Gardening*, pp. 393-4.

²⁸ See the advertisement in the *Cottage Gardener*, 3 March 1857, p. 388.

a discount price to clergymen and others 'who desire to encourage their cottagers in the cultivation of their gardens'²⁹. It is therefore clear that gardening was used by the clergy to persuade people to use their leisure time productively.

Like women, therefore, clergymen represented the view of the amateur in gardening, and because of their gender, and the likelihood that they were more highly educated, they would have had more success in publicising the difficulties of amateurs and in securing the attention of publishers and professional gardeners. They also represented the public face of gardening, in their involvement in gardening societies and organisations, both at a local and national level. In their respected position in a parish or diocese they would be in a strong position to put forward their own views on gardening and other people at the same level would be forced to take account of them. It seems that the caricature of the panama-hatted vicar giving out prizes for the biggest marrow at the local flower show or the bishop with a rosebud in his buttonhole, was based on centuries of tradition and was one of the mainstays of keeping gardening going as a leisure activity in every community in Britain.

²⁹ See *The Victorian Garden Catalogue* (Studio Editions, 1995), p.79.

Part Two. The Establishment of Horticultural Periodicals.

Chapter 1. (1826 to 1840) The Origins of Horticultural Periodicals.

From the evidence already seen, it is clear therefore that there was interest in different forms of amateur gardening in all classes of society, even in the early part of the nineteenth century. However, many amateurs experienced problems in obtaining information as to the rudiments of gardening and in adapting the instructions of professional gardeners to their modest gardens and sometimes limited resources. Eventually, demand was great enough to provide them with information suitable for their particular needs, but the first specialist gardening periodicals were provided for professional gardeners. There was an explosion in publishing in the early part of the nineteenth century, due to the increase in literacy among the working classes and the reduction in, and eventual disappearance of, newspaper taxes, as well as improvements in printing and the better distribution network provided by the railways. It is therefore not surprising that papers appeared for gardeners, both professional and amateur, as they did for readers interested in other leisure activities, such as sport and natural history.

In the early part of the century, information for gardeners came in two forms: practical gardening manuals and botanical magazines. The manuals were written by professional gardeners, such as John Abercrombie (1726-1806) and Charles M'Intosh (1794-1864). Abercrombie, like many others of his generation, wrote under a pseudonym, 'Thomas Mawe, gardener to His Grace the Duke of Leeds', to hide his identity. His earliest book, *Every Man his own Gardener*¹ seems to have first been published in 1767 and reached the twenty-third edition by 1857². It was said to be 'designed to convey a practical knowledge of gardening, to gentlemen and young professors, who delight in that useful and agreeable study'. The frontispiece depicted two gardeners in breeches, buckled shoes and aprons, digging and hoeing, and a lady and gentleman about to enter a small greenhouse in the background. His *Practical Gardener and Improved System of Modern Horticulture*³ was 'designed for gentlemen who manage their own gardens, and as a manual for professional horticulturalists'⁴. 'Amateurs' are specifically mentioned in the section on hardy annuals, although in this context it is probably referring to florists. Most of the book is aimed at

¹ See Thomas Mawe and Other Gardeners, *Every Man his own Gardener* 2nd edn (W. Griffin, 1767).

² See the catalogues of The British Library and The Lindley Library

³ See Abercrombie's *Practical Gardener and Improved System of Modern Horticulture* 4th edn (T. Cadell, 1834). The book seems to have first been published in 1817.

⁴ See the full title.

professionals. Both books deal extensively with hot-houses and shrubberies as well as kitchen gardens, and Abercrombie even describes the care of pineapples, coffee trees and succulents such as aloes. He seems to imply generally that the 'amateur' is a connoisseur of the exotic rather than someone who does his own gardening.

Charles M'Intosh's *The Flower Garden*⁵ claimed to have the object of explaining the principles of taste to guide the amateur in laying out and planting his grounds. *The Book of the Garden*⁶, on the other hand, was a two volume work full of technical details for professional gardeners. A smaller, slightly later, book on garden design, apparently more suited to amateurs, was *How to Lay out a Small Garden* by Edward Kemp⁷ (1817-1891). It was specified in its full title to be 'intended as a guide to amateurs in choosing, farming or improving a place' and dealt with gardens from a quarter to thirty acres.

A more practical book was William Cobbett's *The English Gardener*⁸, which he claimed to be a complete guide to 'what is to be done relative to every plant and tree known in the gardens'⁹. It was written on the basis that the reader was wholly unacquainted with the matter, but it would do no harm to 'gentlemen who have studied something of gardening'¹⁰. However, he goes on to explain that:

The far greater part of persons who possess gardens, and who occasionally partake in the management of them, really know very little about the matter. They possess no principles relating to the art: they do things pretty well, because they have seen them done before; but for want of proceeding upon principle, that is to say, for the want of knowing the reasons for doing the several things that are done in the garden, they are always in a state of uncertainty: they know nothing of the causes, and, therefore, are always rather guessing at, than relying upon the effects¹¹.

Loudon's books on suburban gardening carried on in the same tradition as these earlier manuals, although they included many more details of real gardens and designs for a greater variety of different sized establishments, tailored to the needs of the occupants. It seems that most of the manuals were attempts to explain the 'secrets' of gardening, hitherto known only to the professionals, to the upper and middle classes, who were interested in how they were done and, almost as a matter of intellectual stimulation,

⁵ Charles M'Intosh, *The Flower Garden* (William S. Orr & Co, 1844). The book seems to have been published originally in 1838.

⁶ Charles M'Intosh, *The Book of the Garden*, Volume 1 (Structural) (1853), Volume 2 (Cultural) (1855).

⁷ Edward Kemp, *How to Lay out a Small Garden* (Bradbury & Evans, 1855).

⁸ William Cobbett, *The English Gardener* (repr. Bloomsbury Gardening Classics, 1996). The book was first published in 1829.

⁹ *The English Gardener*, ch. 1, para. 8.

¹⁰ *The English Gardener*, ch. 1, para. 9.

¹¹ *The English Gardener*, ch. 1, para. 10.

were asking themselves why they were done and how they could be improved. The professionals regarded 'an amateur' as someone who enjoyed looking at gardens and collecting plants, and had plenty of space and money to indulge his or her passion and trained professionals to do the practical work. At this date, amateurs with very small gardens without trained help were not contemplated. Loudon seemed to go one step further towards amateurs as we know them today. In his books for suburban gardeners he recognised a need for the middle classes to learn practical skills, either to perform them themselves, or to train their own servants.

What the practical manuals could not provide was topical information on the new plants rapidly being introduced into the country. This was partly because they could not keep up with the number and variety being discovered, but also because the techniques of growing and propagating many of the plants were unknown to British gardeners, who were learning as they went along. It was necessary to publish news of these plants as and when it became available, and so the periodical botanical magazine was born.

William Curtis (1746-1799) started his *Botanical Magazine* in 1787. He was an apothecary, born in Hampshire, who was 'demonstrator' at the Chelsea Physic Garden in London and therefore had ready access to new plants as they were introduced into the country and classified. The full title of the magazine was 'The Botanical Magazine or Flower Garden Displayed – to illustrate and describe the most ornamental foreign plants, cultivated in open ground, greenhouse or stove'. All the plants were drawn from life and the first issue cost one shilling. It was similar concept to the botanical books that were published at the time, often also in parts, such as Robert Sweet's *Geraniaceae*, referred to earlier. However, the magazine was planned to go on indefinitely, and in fact continued until 1983¹². During the eighteenth and nineteenth century about forty-five colour plates were produced a year and the price varied according to the contents. The magazine was always known as *Curtis's Botanical Magazine* to distinguish it from the others.

The other botanical magazines had mixed fortunes. The *Botanists' Repository* lasted from 1797 to 1812 and the *Botanical Register* from 1815 to 1847. Later ones were the *British Flower Garden* (1823-1838), the *Botanic Garden* (1825-1851), the *Botanist* (1837-1846) and the *Floral Cabinet* (1837-1840). The *Botanical Cabinet* (1817-1833) was produced by the nurseryman Conrad Loddiges (1743-1826) mainly

¹² In 1995 the name '*Curtis's Botanical Magazine*' was revived and used for the *Kew Magazine*, first published in 1984. It continues at the time of writing.

as publicity for the plants he was selling. One of the later magazines to start was *Paxton's Magazine of Botany* (1834-1849), produced by Joseph Paxton, who at the time was gardener to the Duke of Devonshire. Some magazines attempted to include general horticultural news as well as details of the plants. The *Botanic Garden* made this into a separate section called 'Auctarium', which may qualify it as the first real horticultural, as opposed to botanical, magazine.

The botanical magazines, with their hand-coloured illustrations, were expensive and therefore only available to the wealthy. Presumably they were only of interest to those people who were growing the new plants. Florists, who were not rich and who mainly grew the traditional hardy plants, had to be content with much more cheaply produced manuals with little topical content until the 1830s. The botanical magazines were not the forerunners of gardening magazines. They were not always produced regularly and had a limited circulation, but they are interesting in the history of the magazines because some of the people who worked on them later became involved in the real gardening magazines.

The first publication to call itself a magazine for gardeners, rather than botanists, was Loudon's *Gardener's Magazine*, started in January 1826 (see *Illustration 17*). Once again, it must be stressed that a 'gardener' was a professional, and that is who the magazine was written for. It is a misconception that Loudon's magazine was the ancestor of all the later gardening magazines, simply because it has the same or a similar name. It was started by Loudon as a way of disseminating news and education for professional gardeners, and its character was more like a collection of papers by learned writers than a commercial newspaper produced for profit. It started as a quarterly publication of book size costing five shillings¹³. It had a few line illustrations but no colour. The original circulation was four thousand. It later became bi-monthly, costing three shillings and sixpence, and finally became monthly, costing two shillings and sixpence, reduced to one shilling and sixpence in 1834. Loudon's wife, Jane, said he was making £750 a year from the magazine by 1830¹⁴.

Loudon had been writing about gardening since 1803, when he had arrived in London from Scotland. He had trained as a landscape gardener and had managed a farm, later teaching agriculture. In 1812 he set off

¹³ In pre-decimal currency, twelve old pence ('d') made one shilling ('s') and twenty shillings made one pound (£). At the time of decimalisation, one new penny was worth two and a half old pence.

¹⁴ These details, and the later information about Loudon's life, come from Jane Loudon, *An Account of the Life and Writings of John Claudius Loudon*, re-printed in *John Claudius Loudon and the Early Nineteenth Century in Great Britain*, ed. Elisabeth B. MacDougall (Dumbarton Oaks, Trustees for Harvard University, Washington D.C., 1980).

to travel through Europe, visiting gardens and all the scientific men he could obtain introductions to. When he returned to Britain in 1814 he found that his investments had failed through poor management and he had to find a way to maintain himself and his mother and sisters. He had great success with his *Encyclopaedia of Gardening* published in 1822, and followed it with several more encyclopaedias and periodical magazines concerned with horticulture, natural history and architecture. However, although he worked continuously and his writing was well-received and has stood the test of time, he became more and more financially embarrassed as he over-stretched himself. He was his own publisher and found that the advance payments to illustrators took away any profit he eventually made on the books. Even using his wife and sister as willing but unpaid helpers did not prevent him losing money. He slowly sunk into debt and his health deteriorated. In 1838 he owed £10,000 for work already done on his publications. By 1843, after returning to landscape gardening and writing freelance for other publications, he had reduced the debt to £2,400 before his death.

In the *Gardener's Magazine* Loudon described himself as the 'conductor'. Jane Loudon said that although it was meant for the benefit of professionals, it turned out to encourage many amateurs. Loudon wrote in the first issue that it was:

Principally for gardeners in distant parts of the country who cannot get to the metropolis where are the best nurseries in the world for vegetable production and for acquiring practical knowledge in botany¹⁵.

He also aimed to increase interest in renovating and rejuvenating old fruit gardens, which had been neglected through loss of workers due to the Napoleonic Wars and then the surge for gardeners to go to London to get better jobs. He also wanted to promote gardening as an art of design and taste. He felt it was not possible to excel in the skills of both landscape design and horticulture, but he hoped to increase the knowledge of all gardeners: education of gardeners was expressed to be his most important aim. Throughout the magazine, Loudon commented that many gardeners cannot read, or are poor readers. One must therefore suppose that the magazine was mainly read by the gardeners' employers or perhaps head gardeners (who would be the only ones able to afford it). They would then pass on the information to the staff. Loudon gave lists of books suitable for gardeners' education and led a discussion as to how

¹⁵ *Gardener's Magazine*, January 1826, Introduction.

gardeners should be treated and trained by their employers¹⁶. He also encouraged correspondence on the relationship between gardeners and nurserymen¹⁷.

The magazine was divided into sections called Original Communications, which were articles by head gardeners on cultivating plants; Reviews, which were reports of other publications; and Intelligence, which was news items and notes of interest. These were followed by Foreign Notices from as far afield as Europe, India, China and north and south America; Domestic Notices, from England, Scotland and Ireland; Biographies, Obituaries and Queries. Each issue concentrated on different topics as Loudon became interested in them. Thus, after discussing living conditions and education of gardeners, he started his campaign to improve the homes of agricultural labourers¹⁸. As well as the cottage designs and essay on husbandry mentioned earlier in Part One, there were articles on field gardening in Scotland¹⁹ and Lord Cawdor of Stackpole wrote on improving cottagers' gardens²⁰. Loudon's final campaign was to improve the design of cemeteries.

Loudon wrote reports of his own visits to gardens, and this is a good illustration of how in his time gardening was still very much divided between social classes and people were expected to know their place and remain in it. He only expected fruit to be grown by trained professionals; cottagers had to be instructed in how to grow food by the more educated classes; and florists were only expected to grow florists' flowers. In the early issues of the *Gardener's Magazine* Loudon devoted a lot of space to florists, reporting on their shows, which he visited himself. He said he intended to give notice of the shows:

in the hope of extending this department among gentlemen's gardeners, by whom, we think, florists' flowers are at present too much neglected...What parterre in any country residence can display a hundred sorts of early dwarf tulips, all in bloom together, producing an effect, that for the brilliance of colour cannot be surpassed in all the vegetable kingdom?²¹

He was trying to encourage gardeners to adopt florists' flowers in their bedding schemes rather than imported 'botanists' flowers' to make their employers' gardens brighter, but he did not suggest that they might join florists' societies in the hope of learning more about the flowers, or so that the separate classes

¹⁶ *Gardener's Magazine*, May 1827, pp. 266, 293.

¹⁷ *Gardener's Magazine*, January 1827, p. 36, May 1827, p. 268.

¹⁸ *Gardener's Magazine*, January 1827, pp. 19, 271.

¹⁹ *Gardener's Magazine*, April 1826, p. 259.

²⁰ *Gardener's Magazine*, April 1826, p. 275.

²¹ *Gardener's Magazine*, July 1826, p. 349.

might get together with a common interest. By the 1830s florists' flowers and societies disappeared from the magazine as Loudon became obsessed with other subjects.

Loudon was an extraordinary man in many ways and his work has had a lasting impact on gardening. Writers in the 1870s and 1880s regarded him as a mentor and modern researchers appreciate his detailed reports and descriptions on all aspects of gardening and domestic architecture between the 1820s and 1840s. However, he cannot be regarded as the founder of gardening periodicals in the true sense. His magazine was unique, almost purely a whim of its creator, and not driven by the demands of its readers, whoever they were. It ceased on Loudon's death in 1843, and was already being eclipsed by papers that truly were the beginning of something new.

Three contemporaries of Loudon who might be considered to be the 'father of gardening periodicals' are: Joseph Paxton, Joseph Harrison and George Glenny. They all produced periodicals in the 1830s and their work directly influenced the development of magazines right up to the end of the century.

Joseph Paxton has already been mentioned in connection with the Crystal Palace and the gardens surrounding it at Sydenham, and also with his *Magazine of Botany*. He started an earlier enterprise in 1831, jointly with Joseph Harrison (d. 1855), who was gardener to Lord Wharncliffe at Wortley Hall, near Sheffield, Yorkshire²². The monthly *Horticultural Register* was intended to be a cheap alternative to botanical magazines and Loudon's *Gardener's Magazine*. The introduction states:

It is evident, that a taste for Horticulture, in all its branches...has, within the last twenty years, very rapidly increased, and a corresponding improvement has consequently attended it: for at no period of time has it reached so high a state of perfection as at present²³.

However, the editors went on to say that although practical (by which they meant professional) gardeners have been able to publish their experiences in the existing publications, because they were so expensive the information 'was thus out of reach of many persons in the humbler classes of society and necessarily became very limited in its circulation'. This therefore adds to the speculation that Loudon's magazine was read mainly by head gardeners and employers, rather than suburban amateurs, and certainly not untrained working people. But it also shows that there was a growing demand for information among all classes of

²² In George Chadwick, *The Works of Sir Joseph Paxton* (Architectural Press, 1961), Harrison is described as being a business man from Birkenhead, but this does not seem to be accurate. He is clearly stated as gardener at Wortley Hall in all the publications he was connected with.

society and that these two editors, although they were professionally trained, were also aware of what lay people wanted.

In the second issue of the *Horticultural Register* a letter from 'A.J.' of Nottingham was published asking whether the paper would be giving general directions for what should be done in a small garden each month and instructions for laying out a small tradesman's garden:

I expect to see [your book] the monthly companion of our artizans, and to hear its pages read over carefully, and its contents examined in most of the little summerhouses on Mapperly-hills, or the sides of our ancient forests. For we are here Horticulturalists and Floriculturalists to a great extent: and our Frame-work-knitters and Twist-hands, when they have completed the labours of the day, adjourn to their hundred yards of land on the outside of the town to superintend the blowing of an auricula or a tulip, to mark the first folding of the leaves of a cabbage, or the gradual growth of a favourite cucumber: each vying with its neighbour in producing the best or largest specimen²⁴.

This sounds almost too good to be true: the artisans with their 'guinea gardens' and the florists with their auriculas and tulips. But even if it were not written by a genuine correspondent, it created a picture of the people who they wanted to attract as readers. The information was for the florists themselves, not upper class people trying to persuade lower classes into gardening. Notices and reports of local florists' society meetings and shows were given and the paper was published in Sheffield as well as London.

According to his wife, Loudon first saw the *Register* when visiting the north of England after laying out Birmingham botanical garden. The sales of his magazine then apparently decreased and never recovered²⁵. Paxton took on some of the same topics as Loudon, providing space for correspondence on building labourers' cottages and even publishing the views of 'a bricklayers' labourer'²⁶. He set out his own ideas on subscription gardens to be provided outside towns, suggesting a company be set up in the same way as a gas or water company. The area should be twelve and a half acres, divided into fifty gardens of a quarter acre each. There should be a communal botanic garden in the centre and the whole area should be enclosed by a brick wall. However, he did not go much further than Loudon in integrating the classes: he suggested each town could have three or more gardens for 'different classes of society'²⁷. Paxton took delight in his rivalry with Loudon. In 1834, in referring to the 'animadversions of the editor of the *Gardener's Magazine*', he reported how Loudon had complained about Paxton using Loudon's

²³ *Horticultural Register*, 1 August 1831, p. 55.

²⁴ *Horticultural Register*, 1 July 1831.

²⁵ Jane Loudon, *An Account of the Life and Writings of John Claudius Loudon*.

²⁶ See *Horticultural Register*, 1 October 1831, p. 152; 1 February 1832, p. 353.

work in the *Magazine of Botany*, but Paxton asked why he should complain then, as he had been doing it for some time and had always given him credit. He then went on to say that many of the improvements and inventions claimed by Loudon were not original but had been known to gardeners for years and Loudon was not even the first to write about them²⁸.

In 1833 Harrison left the *Horticultural Register* and it gradually veered towards natural history and rural affairs. In 1835 the editorship was taken over by James Main (c.1765-1846), a plant collector and nurseryman, but the magazine finished in 1836. In 1833 Harrison launched the *Gardener's and Forester's Record*, which lasted three years²⁹. But he also started a much more successful paper, also in 1833, the *Floricultural Cabinet and Florist's Magazine*. It was a monthly paper of twenty-two pages and two colour plates, costing sixpence. It aimed to provide something affordable for everyone interested in flowers, of whatever type. Harrison wrote:

Although there are existing publications in whose pages the culture of flowering plants is admitted, yet they are too general a character for great numbers of Floriculturalists...to such persons the purchasing of the works referred to, much unnecessary expence had to be incurred. This circumstance has frequently been a source of complaint made to us, since we commenced the *Horticultural Register*³⁰.

The first issue included articles on the dahlia, fuchsias, azaleas and flowering annuals, written by both florists and gentlemen's gardeners. It also reviewed all the current botanical magazines. Very little seems to be known about Harrison, yet he clearly was astute when it came to editing a gardening paper; by November of its first year, the *Floricultural Cabinet* claimed that it had sold fifty thousand copies in the first nine months³¹. It ran until 1859 and was then replaced by what claimed to be the most popular gardening paper of the late nineteenth century. Harrison seemed to find a successful compromise between professional gardeners and amateurs. The bound editions of the paper do not quote the price, but it must have been cheap enough for working people to buy and it provided the information they wanted on flowers they could afford to grow.

If Loudon and Paxton exhibited animosity towards each other, it was nothing compared to the libellous comments of the third rival to Loudon, George Glenny, who was once described as a 'horticultural

²⁷ *Horticultural Register*, 1 August 1831, pp. 58-60.

²⁸ *Horticultural Register*, Vol III, pp. 404-407.

²⁹ See Ray Desmond, 'Victorian Gardening Magazines', *Garden History* (Winter 1977), p. 47.

³⁰ *Floricultural Cabinet*, 1 March 1833, Introduction.

hornet'³². Unlike the editors so far described, Glenny was not a professional gardener, but a watchmaker from Clerkenwell, east London. He seems to have made money partly through a lucrative marriage, but also through working as an insurance salesman. This led him to take up growing florists' flowers as a hobby, while also launching himself into magazine publishing. In 1831 he started the *Royal Lady's Magazine*, naming it after his patron, Queen Adelaide, although how he managed to gain royal favour is not known. He began to feature articles on florists' flowers, perhaps at first to fill up space. In 1832 he helped set up the Metropolitan Society of Florists and Amateurs 'to promote the science of Floriculture' by holding competitions.

It may be thought that there were enough florists' societies in London without Glenny starting a new one, but it would seem that this was a different sort of society. It was directly aimed at promoting florists' flowers in fashionable circles, in opposition to the Horticultural Society, who were reluctant to feature the flowers in their shows. In 1833 the *Royal Lady's Magazine* became the *Horticultural Journal and Florists' Register*, stating:

Our object, therefore, is merely to supply that information which no other work supplies, and which there are still many persons who think degrading. Be it so until we show the contrary. We shall go on in our humble way till we can prove that florists' flowers belong to the highest instead of the lowest grade of floriculture; and that tailors, tinkers, and weavers, who knew them and grew them a century ago, though not one in a hundred could read or write, were better judges than botanists of what constituted a good thing³³.

Glenny tolerated no one else's opinion. He criticised advice given by Thomas Hogg (1771-1841), hitherto considered the expert on florists' flowers, and in 1835 in Volume III of the *Horticultural Journal* described Loudon's *Gardener's Magazine* as having 'every appearance of decay'³⁴. Of the *Horticultural Register* he said, 'it contains the usual quantity of what every practical man already knows; and rather more than usual of readable, though not very interesting original matter'³⁵. Of the *Floricultural Cabinet*, he said, 'the original communications are, as they always are, the mere overflowings of imbecility and folly'³⁶.

³¹ *Floricultural Cabinet*, 28 November 1833. Ray Desmond, in 'Victorian Gardening Magazines', gives a figure of ten thousand copies per issue by 1840.

³² Will Tjaden, 'George Glenny, Horticultural Hornet', *The Garden* (1986), p. 318. Most of the biographical information comes from this article.

³³ *Horticultural Journal*, vol. I (1834), p. 31.

³⁴ *Horticultural Journal*, vol. III (1835), p. 6.

³⁵ *Horticultural Journal*, vol. III (1835), p. 8.

³⁶ *Horticultural Journal*, vol. III (1835), p. 8.

Glenny was only too pleased if someone wrote to him to argue with his opinions, as he then published the letter with his own derogatory comments. He had been elected a fellow of the Horticultural Society, but they soon realised he was a trouble-maker. In one show his exhibit was given second prize, with no first prize being awarded. He saw this as a personal insult, which it was, and then promoted his own shows on the same day as the Horticultural Society's. He usually got a better attendance.

In 1837 Glenny started something totally new: the *Gardener's Gazette*, a weekly paper for gardeners. This was a chance to give topical news at a cheap price and as such was revolutionary. It consisted of sixteen pages, half of which were general news and half gardening. It cost sixpence. However, Glenny was incapable of being objective and its pages were dominated by quarrels, particularly with the botanist John Lindley (1799-1865), the Horticultural Society's assistant secretary and the person responsible for organising their shows. In 1839 Glenny was banned from the Horticultural Society's shows. By the end of that year his personal finances collapsed. He sold the paper but continued as editor at £500 per year. However, he quarrelled with the new owners and resigned in 1840, whereupon Loudon, also in financial difficulties, was persuaded to take on the editorship (at £300 per year).

By 1840 therefore, there was already a variety of gardening literature available. Six botanical magazines were still running, and there were three monthly papers. The *Horticultural Journal* had finished in 1839, but the *Floricultural Cabinet* and *Gardener's Magazine* were still running. The third was another magazine for florists, the *Floricultural Magazine*, edited by Robert Marnock (1800-1889), a Scottish nurseryman and garden designer who was curator of the Royal Botanic Society's garden at Regent's Park, London, from 1840 to 1869. The magazine was published from 1836 to 1842.

The continued existence of the weekly *Gazette* must have made it clear to many people that weekly magazines were the way forward, and there was room for another weekly if a rational editor could be found. However, the quarrels between Glenny, Loudon, Lindley and Paxton were not over yet.

Chapter 2. (1841 to 1857) The Establishment of the Weekly Papers.

By the 1840s the public had become accustomed to the idea of weekly papers for both entertainment and acquiring knowledge. Many were available at the cost of a penny and could be bought through booksellers as well as by subscription. Gardening papers were not produced at this low price until much later, but the existence of Glenny's *Gardener's Gazette* showed that weekly papers, although not cheap, were feasible. Considering the seasonal nature of gardening, it would seem to be most appropriate to produce a weekly paper to keep readers in touch with new plants and to circulate information on shows and societies. Stamp duty, or newspaper tax, was payable from 1836 to 1855 at the rate of a penny on any periodical that contained news or political comment. Therefore, gardening periodicals that also contained news were forced to keep their prices high, whereas the monthly papers were able to charge correspondingly less. As the century progressed, printing methods improved and the railways provided an efficient method of distribution. This encouraged more people to go into publishing and it will be seen that there was an increase in the number of small-scale papers which only lasted a short time. As the industry consolidated, the small publishers were driven out and larger firms were established.

The first weekly paper to attain a consistent, reliable readership was the *Gardeners' Chronicle*, which was started in January 1841. However, it was not a speculative commercial venture out to attract a readership which it believed was there, it was a calculated attempt to silence Glenny once and for all, and had the support of the Horticultural Society, who wanted to establish itself as the face of British gardening. The paper was started by Joseph Paxton and John Lindley with the backing of Charles Wentworth Dilke, son of the more famous critic and publisher of the same name, and William Bradbury, of Bradbury & Evans, publishers of *Punch*, *The Daily News* and *The Field*. Paxton already had experience in publishing with his *Magazine of Botany* and the *Horticultural Register* and had connections with the Horticultural Society through his employer the Duke of Devonshire, president of the society and owner of the land on which the society's garden at Chiswick stood. Lindley¹ was a self taught botanist who had come to London from Norfolk to work in the library of Sir Joseph Banks, one of the founders of the Horticultural Society. In 1822 Lindley had become assistant secretary to the Chiswick garden and had worked with Loudon on his encyclopaedia of plants, drawing most of the illustrations. He had produced definitive works on the genera *Rosa* and *Digitalis* and then turned to orchids, which became a life-long

study. This was an interest he shared with Paxton, who was responsible for a huge collection of orchids at Chatsworth. By 1841 Lindley was assistant secretary to the Horticultural Society itself, in which capacity he had clashed with Glenny, as he was responsible for the society's shows. He was also professor of botany at the Chelsea Physic Garden and at the newly established University of London (later University College). He had carried out an examination of the Royal Botanic Gardens at Kew, which had ensured their survival and rejuvenation. As to publishing, Lindley had been editor of the *Pomological Magazine* from 1828 to 1830 and was editor of the *Botanical Register* from 1829 to 1847.

The *Gardeners' Chronicle* was edited in the names of both Paxton and Lindley; Lindley was said on the cover to be responsible for 'the horticultural part' (see Illustration 18A). Its price was sixpence, it appeared on Saturdays, and it was described as 'a stamped paper of rural economy and general news'. The prospectus to the first issue stated that it was intended to provide:

a weekly record of everything that bears upon horticulture or garden botany...thus the gardener, the forester, the rural architect, the drainer, the road-maker, and the cottager, will all have the improvements in their respective pursuits recorded.

In relation to florists it was declared that not only would they be kept fully acquainted with new varieties and the best modes of cultivation, but the editors would take care that the opinions given were the results of honest examination by 'competent judges unbiased by any personal interest'. This obviously referred to Glenny, but in case it was lost on anyone the first editorial stated that the paper would avoid wrangling and abuse in connection with florists' flowers. Loudon was not left out either: to complete their aims, the editors declared that the paper was interested in the improvement of the condition and education of gardeners.

The *Chronicle* further exhibited its credentials by providing a list of intended contributors which included four professors, twenty-two head gardeners of estates, eight from botanic gardens, and eight from parks. Amateurs, nurserymen, gardeners and all other persons interested in horticultural pursuits were invited to favour the editor as early as possible with their comments. The first edition was of sixteen pages, the first two containing advertisements for nurseries, plants, seeds, heating apparatus and situations wanted. The last page contained advertisements for gardening books and journals. The main part of the paper, consisting of six pages, included features on trees, new plants, recent displays at nurseries,

¹ For details of the life of John Lindley, see *John Lindley, 1799-1865, Gardener, Botanist and Pioneer*

correspondence from Britain and abroad, proceedings of various learned societies, reviews of scientific and botanical books, a calendar of work in the garden for the week, and weather and market reports. This was followed by over six pages of general news, including the Royal Court, foreign, home and provincial news, the City, Christmas theatricals, law, police, gazette (bankruptcies), and births, deaths and marriages. The publishers therefore seemed to be keeping their options open in case gardening did not prove to be totally absorbing to their readers.

The *Chronicle* seemed to be aimed at the gentry and upper classes who wanted to improve their gardens and were also interested in keeping in touch with events in London and other cities. They were of course typical of the members of the Horticultural Society. It was also aimed at professional gardeners and nurserymen who were the intended readers of Loudon's *Gardener's Magazine*. By 1844 a separate part of the paper was designated the *Agricultural Gazette* and much of the general news was dropped. Although amateurs had been urged to correspond, most articles were still exclusively written by head gardeners, nurserymen and academics. Reports were given of meetings of learned societies, such as the Horticultural Society, the Linnean Society and the Botanical Society of Edinburgh. There were no reports of local flower shows or florists' societies, although the advertisements for flowers were almost exclusively for florists' flowers. This is probably because many nurserymen would have a good trade in selling florists' flowers to amateur florists.

The *Chronicle* soon took on readers from the *Gazette*, by now under the editorship of Loudon. Glenny² had taken the opportunity to return to battle with a new paper, which he called the *Court Gazette and Fashionable Guide, Glenny's Gardeners' Gazette Edition*. He had obtained the *Court Gazette* in 1838 and adapted it into a gardening paper, calling it *Glenny's Gardeners' Gazette New Series*. It was priced at fourpence and started to do well, but in April 1841 the *Chronicle* obtained an injunction to prevent Glenny using any of their material in his paper. By July the paper closed.

At the end of 1841 Loudon gave up editorship of the *Gazette* and James Main and Robert Meares (dates unknown) seem to have taken over. It had lost many of its readers to the *Chronicle* and in early 1843 the owners talked to the *Chronicle* management to discuss merging the titles. However, in March 1843 one of Glenny's supporters bought it back for him for £350 and he was re-instated as editor. Although Glenny

Orchidologist, ed. William Stearn (Antique Collectors' Club and RHS, 1999).

did not have much money to put into the paper, he felt it was a worthy rival to the *Chronicle* because it covered practical gardening and floriculture, whereas the *Chronicle* was still primarily aimed at country gentlemen, botanists and academics. He was more fearful of a new weekly paper advertised in 1844, to be called the *United Gardeners' and Land Stewards' Journal or the Nobleman's and Gentleman's Cultivator of the Garden, Forest and Farm*. At this threat he renamed his paper the *Amateur and Working Gardeners' Gazette*.

The new paper appeared in January 1845, the same size and price (sixpence) as the *Chronicle*, and was edited by Robert Marnock. Glenney claimed that his sales actually increased at the expense of the *Chronicle*, which he said was not run for profit but only to secure influence. For the next two years Glenney maintained that his paper gave best value for money, particularly for amateurs, who he now claimed were his main readers. At this stage, amateur was still synonymous with florist. However, in 1846 he dropped the word 'amateur' from the title. By early 1847 sales of the *Gazette* were probably down to about five hundred copies and in February an accident destroyed the content of the paper before it went to press. The exertion of preparing it all again was too much for Glenney and he decided to retire. In March he sold out to his rival, the *United Gardeners' and Land Stewards' Journal*. The new paper included more agricultural material. The horticultural editor was Marnock, and John Dickson (dates unknown), a London florist, was brought in as floricultural editor. In July 1847 it became the *Gardeners' and Farmers' Journal*.

Glenney was not finished as a gardening journalist. His *Florists' Journal* appeared between 1840 and 1848, as successor to the *Horticultural Journal*. It was a monthly with one colour plate. Glenney claimed it was better than the cheaper papers, which he called 'mere gatherings of scraps'³. He wrote a gardening column, in the form of a calendar of work, in *Lloyds Weekly Newspaper* from 1852 to 1874, which qualifies him as the first gardening columnist in a general newspaper. He claimed he was writing for sixty-five thousand readers in 1852, and by 1872 he claimed half a million. The paper cost threepence in 1852 and a penny in 1872. These readership figures compare to the *Chronicle* at about six and a half thousand and the *Gardeners' and Farmers' Journal* at about one thousand. Glenney was also horticultural editor of the *Country Gentleman – a Cottage, Villa, Farm and Garden Newspaper* in 1850, which was priced at sixpence. He wrote many practical gardening books and even revived the *Gazette* for another

² The details of the history of Glenney's magazines are found in Will Tjaden, 'The Gardeners Gazette 1837-1847 and its Rivals', *Garden History* (Spring 1983), p.70.

five years from July 1859. However, the horticultural world had moved on at that stage and Glenny was no longer one of its major players.

By the late 1840s the *Gardeners' Chronicle* was establishing itself as leader in the market as its rivals disintegrated around it. However, it was still doing little for the florists, who decided that if they wanted a reliable publication catering for their own interests, they would have to start one themselves. In 1847 the *Midland Florist and Suburban Horticulturalist* was started under the editorship of John Frederick Wood (dates unknown), nurseryman of The Coppice, Nottingham. It was published monthly, was small book size and contained forty-six pages. In its first issue it stated:

The teeming bosom of the earth produces in illimitable supply its abundant treasures of flowers, fruits, and vegetables, for the happiness and enjoyment of *all*, who by skill, assiduity, and attention, are desirous to procure them. It is for the information of these that the present periodical is established, - to convey in a popular and easily understood manner, to our readers, intelligence of what is passing in the world of fruit and flowers, and to fill up a vacancy in the garden literature of the day, at a price which will be within the means of all who love a garden⁴.

The paper concentrated on florists' flowers and competitions, but also had articles on fruit and general matters such as manures. It contained reviews of books and other magazines. In 1851 it started a series called The Cottage Allotment, covering fruit trees, edging plants, and vegetables. By 1857 it was edited by Alfred G. Sutton (1818-1897), the son of the founder of Sutton's seeds and himself a partner in the firm. It was obviously losing readers and attempted to re-launch itself:

If our readers will gain us a thousand additional subscribers, we can promise them, in return, twelve additional pages every month⁵.

It even took on Glenny as a writer, and was amalgamated with the *Gardener's Gazette* in 1863.

In 1848 a new paper appeared on the scene which was to become the leading florists' paper until the monthly magazines of this type disappeared. The *Florist* was started when Edward Beck of Isleworth, west London, a Quaker slate merchant and pelargonium grower, brought together and consulted a group of other enthusiasts. They were: Henry Groom (dates unknown) (a nurseryman at Walworth and Clapham in south London), John Edwards, the florist from Holloway, Charles Fox (1794-1849) (an illustrator who

³ *Horticultural Journal*,

⁴ *Midland Florist*, January 1847.

⁵ *Midland Florist*, 1857, Preface to the bound edition, entitled 'To Our Friends'.

had worked on the *Floricultural Cabinet* and the *Gardeners' Chronicle*), Charles Turner (1818-1885) (proprietor of the Royal Nurseries, Slough, and original promoter of the Cox's Orange Pippin apple), and Thomas Rivers (1798-1877) (a prominent nurseryman from Sawbridgeworth, Hertfordshire, specialising in fruit and roses). The paper consisted of thirty-two book-sized pages and one colour plate. The objects were stated in the Introduction to the first issue: to be a medium of communication between lovers of floriculture and a book of reference with accurate descriptions; to exhibit improvements in flowers, effected by skill and cultivation; to call attention to plants which had been neglected through want of novelty, to the disadvantage of gardens; and to contain occasional articles on all subjects connected with floriculture, from the cultivation of plants in cottagers' gardens, windows or cucumber frames, to the various objects and arrangements required by the more wealthy. Nine hundred copies were reputedly sold in 1848⁶.

The first issue of the *Florist* contained articles on the culture of various different flowers and a piece by 'a working man', Peter Mackenzie, on the love of floriculture among working men. He commented that:

Although Providence has placed them in the humble sphere of life, it does not follow as a matter of course that they should be low-minded⁷.

A point was obviously being made by the florists that they considered themselves worthy of the notice of the establishment and were no longer willing to be considered second class citizens at flower shows. It echoed what Glenny had been saying for years, but it was said more rationally. The theme continued in 1848⁸ when a complaint was published from three (anonymous) florists who said they had asked to compete in the Horticultural Society's show at Chiswick in 1847 but their plants had not been given a stand and the vice-secretary seemed to have been indifferent to florists' flowers. They had not had the same experience at the Botanical Society's show.

The editorship of the *Florist* was taken over by Charles Turner in 1851, assisted by John Spencer (1809-1881), a professional gardener, but in 1852 it went to Robert Hogg (1818-1897). He was a Scotsman, a graduate of Edinburgh University, and trained as a nurseryman in Scotland⁹. He came to London and took a share in the Brompton Nursery in west London, and was particularly interested in fruit growing. In 1860

⁶ See Ray Desmond, 'Victorian Gardening Magazines', *Garden History* (Winter 1977), p.47.

⁷ *Florist* 1848, p.9.

⁸ See *Florist* 1848, p. 177.

he published his *Fruit Manual*, which remained the definitive textbook on the subject until well into the nineteenth century. With Hogg at the helm of the paper, the florists could not be considered as uneducated working men, but had become a serious commercial force. Soon articles on fruit were filling over half the pages of the *Florist*, and in 1851 it renamed itself the *Florist, Fruitist and Garden Miscellany*, to become the *Florist and Pomologist* in 1862. Perhaps this was why it continued to co-exist happily with the *Floricultural Cabinet*, its nearest rival, as that paper kept its emphasis on flowers.

The real challenge to the *Gardeners' Chronicle* came in October 1848, when the weekly *Cottage Gardener* was launched. Sub-titled, the 'Amateur and Cottager's Guide to Out-Door Gardening and Spade Cultivation', it was 'conducted' by George W. Johnson (1802-1886), a barrister, who had been professor of moral and political economy in Calcutta from 1836 to 1842. Johnson¹⁰ had come to gardening through chemistry. His father was a wealthy industrialist, William Johnson, whose salt works in Essex had provided interest for both his sons, George and Cuthbert. They studied the effect of salt on the soil as a fertiliser. Cuthbert went on to write on agriculture, while George's interests as he read for the Bar included journalism and local history. He was a man of many parts, continuing his legal career, at least part time, while he wrote. On his return from India, he advised the churchwardens of his parish church to impose a rate on the villagers to finance repair of the church, which led to a legal dispute which he himself successfully argued as far as the House of Lords. He wrote *The History of English Gardening*¹¹ and *The Principles of Practical Gardening*¹² as well as dictionaries and almanacs of gardening.

The *Cottage Gardener* was started with the idea of advising the middle and working classes of the operations to be attended to in a small garden. The aim of the paper was to concentrate interest away from the exotics and botanical curiosities so loved by the *Chronicle* under Paxton and Lindley and towards 'spade cultivation'. It was expressed in a question asked in the Introduction¹³ to the first issue:

Where is there a periodical that devotes attention and space to promote its advancement [spade cultivation], even equally with that of the other departments of horticulture, which, from their costliness, are only within the reach of a comparatively few?

⁹ For further details of Hogg's life, see Brent Elliott, 'Robert Hogg – Standard Setter', *The Garden* (September 1992), p. 427.

¹⁰ For further details of Johnson's life, see his biography in *Journal of Horticulture*, 7 July 1881, pp. 11-14.

¹¹ Published in 1829.

¹² Published in 1845.

¹³ *Cottage Gardener*, 5-11 October 1848, p. 1.

But what was 'spade cultivation'? It seemed to mean outdoor gardening, concentrating on hardy plants and food crops,

which all have the means of pursuing...Utility is our prime object...we shall especially trim our lamp for the amateur of moderate income and the cottager.

This seems to have been the first time that the amateur (as opposed to the florist) was put at the top of a list of prospective readers.

The features in the first issue of the *Cottage Gardener* included fruit, flower and kitchen gardening for the week, information on cheap manures (including filtered house sewage), raspberries, potato planting in Ireland and the first part of a series on Cottage and Allotment Gardens written by George Johnson himself. The paper appeared on Thursdays and there were ten pages of gardening features. It seems that there were also some advertisements which do not appear in the bound volumes. The price seems to have been threepence, which could be managed because there was no general news and therefore no tax. However, was this low enough to appeal to the cottager or allotment holder, and were they likely to read it anyway? Was it again aimed more at the benefactor or philanthropist who wanted to encourage gardening among the working classes? The writers given as responsible for each section were, again, all head gardeners or nurserymen. The sections were: The Fruit Garden, The Kitchen Garden, The Flower Garden, The Greenhouse and Window Garden, and The Apiarian's Calendar, for the Management of Bees. The writers would obviously have the knowledge of all the skills and techniques, but could they write about them for the working man or the do-it-yourself amateur with a garden on a smaller scale and with fewer financial resources than the country estates they were used to?

For all his good intentions, Johnson's thinking was probably ahead of its time. In January 1855 the paper had adapted its name to the *Cottage Gardener and Country Gentleman's Companion* (see Illustration 19A) and was incorporating sub-papers called the *Poultry Chronicle*¹⁴ and *Beekeeper's Chronicle*¹⁵. They may have all originally been separate papers. In 1851 the *Quarterly Review* had commented that it was more suitable for the owners of a cottage to which a double coach-house was attached, rather than a

¹⁴ The *Poultry Chronicle* was first included on 21 August 1855.

¹⁵ The *Poultry and Beekeeper's Chronicle* first appeared on 19 April 1859.

labourer's cottage¹⁶. With its agricultural content it seemed that it was most likely to appeal to the same readership as the *Gardeners' Chronicle*. By 1855 the *Cottage Gardener* included sections called 'The Fruit and Forcing Garden' and 'Stove and Florists' Flowers'¹⁷, which showed that the readers were happy with their exotics and content to leave 'spade cultivation' to their paid gardeners. However, Johnson persisted in helping the cottagers and allotment holders by producing 'Manuals for the Many' under the *Cottage Gardener* name, which were booklets on different gardening topics¹⁸. They cost fourpence, with a discount for clergymen and others who required a number of copies for distribution. The prevailing attitude therefore was not very different from that of Loudon and Paxton twenty years earlier, giving advice to the middle classes as to how to treat their labourers and parishioners who could be expected to indulge in spade cultivation with some guidance.

Although the content of the *Cottage Gardener* became similar to that of the *Gardeners' Chronicle*, the style was more conversational and practical. The impression on reading the two together is that the *Chronicle* was still keen to uphold its botanical, academic credentials, but the *Cottage Gardener* wanted to be seen to be talking to people who really got out and handled the soil and the plants. This is nowhere more evident than in the Queries and Answers part of the paper, which the *Cottage Gardener* gradually expanded to fill the whole middle section, many letters from readers being over a column long. These were sometimes signed with initials but also by people giving their names and describing themselves as 'gardener to...Esq' or simply calling themselves 'an amateur'. It could be thought that using readers' letters to fill the paper was economical, but lazy. However, it was more important than this: it showed that readers' opinions were valued, and none more so than the amateurs, who had been so little regarded until this time. It was also a good way of selling papers. All popular papers had readers' columns, often separate from Answers to Correspondents, which were the editor's replies to questions asked by readers, but equally compelling and important. What better way to sell a paper than for the readers to hope their letters had been published or their questions answered? It was the written equivalent to the modern phone-in radio programme.

Correspondence columns can give good evidence as to who readers were and where they lived. However, all too often letters are signed by pseudonyms or initials and do not give addresses. The paper that

¹⁶ See E. S. Dixon in the *Quarterly Review* LXXXIX (1851), p. 20.

¹⁷ See the front page to the bound edition of vol. XIII of the *Cottage Gardener* (1854-1855).

consistently gave most information on places was the *Gardeners' Chronicle*. Looking at one issue a month for the years of 1845 and 1855 I found that in 1845 eight correspondents were from London (mainly nurserymen), four were from each of Wales, Surrey, Yorkshire and Kent, three from each of Sussex, Hampshire and Lancashire, whereas thirteen other counties had two each and nine other counties, one each. By 1855 the pattern had changed. Kent had ten correspondents, and Scotland six. Hertfordshire produced five; Hampshire, Nottinghamshire, Yorkshire and Gloucestershire, three each; eight other counties two, and twelve others one each. This is not a scientific study, but it shows that the readership was well spread over the British Isles. A similar study of the *Cottage Gardener* in 1855 was not as useful, as fewer place names were given, but what there were showed three correspondents from Yorkshire, two each from London, Ireland, Suffolk, Kent and Somerset, and one from each of eleven other counties.

In January 1850 an attempt was made to establish a cheaper weekly paper, with the launch of the *Gardeners' Hive*. The editor was J.T. Neville (dates unknown) of Ebenezer House, Meeting House Lane, Peckham, Surrey. Described as 'a weekly miscellany of Floriculture, Horticulture, and general gardening literature', it came out every Saturday and cost twopence. Its first editorial stated that 70,000 gardeners were employed in England, and added to that figure the amateurs of 'high and low degree' made about a hundred thousand gardeners, of whom many were unable or disinclined to purchase expensive works on gardening. What was wanted, it said, was a cheap paper dealing only with floriculture and horticulture (presumably, then, not farming). Although the monthly papers were praised, because of their embellishment (meaning illustrations) they were said to often cost up to three shillings and sixpence. A favourable review was given of what they called 'Beck's *Florist*', describing it as 'eclipsing every work on Floriculture in the 'getting up' and highly worthy of the four thousand monthly subscribers aimed at by its superintendent'. Beck probably had to be flattered because on a separate page was his advertisement for pelargoniums and slate ornaments. There were also repeated references to 'our cheap and highly useful contemporary', the *Midland Florist*, conducted by J.F. Wood.

Another provincial paper, the *Birmingham and Midland Gardeners' Magazine* was published in 1852 and 1853. The editors were C. J. Perry (dates unknown) and J. Cole (dates unknown), professional gardeners from the Birmingham area. It was said to be started at the request of northern gardeners because many flowers which flourished in the south were found disappointing in northern gardens. They also stated:

¹⁸ They included 'Gardening', 'Allotment Farming', 'Beekeeping', 'Greenhouses', 'Kitchen Gardening', 'Fruit Culture', 'Florists' Flowers' and 'Flower Gardening' (all described as 'For the Many'): see the

During the last few years thousands of villa residences have sprung into existence in the vicinity of manufacturing towns; and the proprietors of such abodes would gladly avail themselves of the knowledge which would enable them to cultivate and decorate their small surrounding domains in the manner that would contribute most largely to their pleasure and personal gratification. On this account, we purpose devoting a portion of each number to "The Villa Garden"¹⁹.

The magazine featured a calendar of work at the end of each issue, divided into types of plants, such as Roses, Pelargoniums, Fuchsias, Camellias and Vines.

By the end of February 1850 the *Gardeners' Hive* appealed for more readers, saying that a circulation of three thousand was necessary to defray expenses. It does not seem to have reached them, as the paper seems to have disappeared. It is notable that it had mentioned such a high number of professional gardeners and comparatively low number of amateurs. Any paper aiming at professionals would find it difficult to compete with the *Gardeners' Chronicle* because it contained a large section of classified advertisements for Situations Vacant and Wanted (see Illustration 18D), as well as advertisements for plants and equipment. Although the *Hive* was cheap, would there be any purpose in spending another twopence a week on it if the *Chronicle* was considered essential for professional purposes and monthlies such as the *Florist* and the *Floricultural Cabinet* were available for florists with good quality articles and illustrations of flowers? It would seem that the *Hive* had misjudged its readership and amateurs were not yet ready to give their support to a new paper. Neville went on to edit the *Gardener's Record and Amateur Florist's Companion* from 1852 to 1854.

Therefore, by the late 1850s there was a healthy rivalry and co-existence between the *Chronicle* and the *Cottage Gardener* on the weekly market, and the *Floricultural Cabinet* and the *Florist* on the monthly market. The only botanical magazine still running was *Curtis's*. After the death of Joseph Harrison in 1855 the *Cabinet* seemed to lose its way. Harrison's sons, J.J. and E. Harrison, carried on publishing it until 1859, but it lost its originality, although plans of gardens by Thomas Rutger (active 1800-1860) were regularly included as a diversion from articles about flowers. The Harrison brothers also published small books on natural history and science, including photography, but seemed less concerned with gardening.

advertisement in the *Cottage Gardener*, 3 March 1857, p. 388.

¹⁹ *Birmingham and Midland Gardeners' Magazine*, 1852, 'A Few Words with our Readers', p. 2.

An interesting little paper started in March 1856: *Gossip of the Garden*, which really is a fund of gossip for anyone interested in florists and amateur gardening in the mid-nineteenth century (see Illustration 22). It only lasted until 1863 and was started by E.S. Dodwell (1819-1893), an ex-cigar merchant and practising carnation and pink grower, and John Edwards, the ubiquitous florist from Holloway. It called itself a 'Handbook for the Florist and Suburban Horticulturalist', appeared monthly and cost threepence. It was small book size but contained thirty-six pages. The editors intended it to be a work of reference for florists and provide easily understood directions on the culture of fruit, flowers, plants and vegetables. They invited 'liberal correspondence' and aimed to promote public exhibitions. They also included 'The Ladies' Page', and addressed such issues as 'Floriculture versus Fraud', which dealt with the 'dressing of chrysanthemums'²⁰. Perhaps they felt that the *Florist* had become too professionally-orientated and had veered away from the amateur florist. They were sincere in their aim to provide practical directions: their calendar of operations for the month was seven to nine pages, which was far longer than the notes that appeared in all the other papers. They also listed all the shows for the coming month. The paper was originally published in both Derby and London, so as to promote the interests of northern florists and obtain their subscriptions. However, by December of the first year it restricted itself to London publishing. It offered discount prices to nurserymen and stated that although its first edition had been reprinted, doubling its original circulation of a thousand, it would only be able to continue with a circulation of five thousand. The editorship changed almost yearly, William Dean (1825-1895), John Sladden (1813-1870) and A.S.H.²¹ all playing a part.

Gossip of the Garden was never a serious rival to the bigger papers, but it added an alternative for florists and amateurs. As the 1850s drew to a close the amateur was now being considered in his own right, and amateur did not just mean a florist, but a practical gardener who wanted information suitable to his own needs. The atmosphere now became right for a change in the whole direction of horticultural publishing.

²⁰ See *Gossip of the Garden*, 1859, pp. 95, 120, 164.

²¹ I have not been able to identify anyone with these initials; the nearest is Arthur Henfrey (1819-1859) who was a Scottish botanist and editor of the *Gardener's Magazine of Botany*, but it does not seem likely, not least as the initials appear for some years after his death. Sladden was a surgeon from Ash, near Sandwich, Kent. He was an amateur florist, specialising in gladiolus. Perhaps he preferred to be known by a pseudonym and used the name of his home town.

Chapter 3. (1858 to 1870) The Recognition of the Amateur.

As we have already seen, the growth of amateur gardening was inextricably linked to the growth of towns and suburbs. The main difficulty experienced by many would-be gardeners was that of obtaining information when the professionals refused to believe that town gardening was feasible or worth bothering about, and by the 1850s books had started to appear to assist amateurs. Several attempts had been made to start papers that were not mainly aimed at professional gardeners or florists, but it was not until 1858 that a paper was launched primarily for amateurs. This came about as a result of the success of Shirley Hibberd's book, *Rustic Adornments for Homes of Taste*, first published in 1856¹.

Hibberd was born in Stepney, east London, in 1825. His father died when he was about thirteen and he was apprenticed to a bookseller. Eventually he took up a career as a journalist, but in his twenties he seems to have been working as an 'operative chemist' and became closely involved with the early vegetarian movement. An operative chemist was distinct from a dispensing chemist (or 'chemist and druggist') in that he was a chemist who carried out experiments and research. One of the commonest ways for such a person to earn a living was by lecturing to medical students². Thus from an early age, Hibberd was engaged in public speaking, and he continued to do this for the rest of his life³. He must have learned the art the hard way by lecturing for the Vegetarian Society in the late 1840s. Once he had left the movement, in 1851, he gave illustrated talks on science and astronomy, and even lectured on the Crimean War at the Great Globe in Leicester Square, London. This was a sort of diorama where battles and landscapes of the war were depicted. It seems very far removed from the later lectures on horticulture that he gave, first to local horticultural societies, and later to the Society of Arts, Linnean Society, Botanical Congress, and of course the Royal Horticultural Society. Three days before he died he gave his last lecture to the RHS's Chrysanthemum Conference dinner, having organised the conference himself.

This constant contact with the public gave Hibberd valuable knowledge as to what people wanted. He was not just writing from his own experience as an amateur gardener, which was valuable enough, but he was meeting people who wanted to learn more and discussing their needs with them. His books and articles

¹ Shirley Hibberd, *Rustic Adornments for Homes of Taste* (Groombridge and Sons, 1856).

² For details of the work of chemists in the nineteenth century, see R.F. Bud and G.K. Roberts, *Science versus Practice: Chemistry in Victorian Britain* (Manchester University Press, 1986).

³ For more details of the life and work of Shirley Hibberd, see Anne Wilkinson, 'The Preternatural Gardener: The Life of James Shirley Hibberd (1825-1890)', *Garden History* (Winter 1998), p. 153.

are written in a style which makes it easy to see how he would have appeared as a speaker: authoritative but understanding, and with a good sense of humour. His first success with a gardening book was in 1855 with *The Town Garden*, referred to earlier. His increasing interest in gardening led him to move further out of London to the village of Tottenham, where he started a collection of aquatic creatures and birds, took up bee-keeping and began to look more closely at gardening writing as a career. He also specialised in growing plants in Wardian cases, partly because his wife was a semi-invalid and it amused her. *Rustic Adornments* dealt with all aspects of indoor and outdoor gardening, with particular emphasis on Taste. He seemed to be aiming at people who were trying to raise their social status, such as clerks and retailers who were working their way up from the lower middle class, or even craftsmen and artisans who hoped to be accepted in middle class society. He must have been acutely aware of the importance of presenting a decent appearance to the outside world, and at the same time he had a strongly held belief that an interest in, and respect for, the natural world, including gardening, could bring people together and break down social barriers:

This outdoor life not only keeps the blood in a healthy glow, and the brain active in its search for knowledge, but...the meanest tasks are elevated even to dignity by the fact of their necessity. Hence, a man who is a thorough gardener feels no shame in handling the spade, or in wheeling rubbish to the pit; for though his means may enable him to enjoy all the refinements of life, it is his pride that there is not one manipulation but that he can perform himself, and so a brown skin and hard hands give him no fear that he shall lose his claim to the title of gentleman. And the world is very forgiving on this matter – its sympathies are with a gardener!⁴

The idea that garden work actually gave a person pride, regardless of his status in society, went much further than the remarks in the definition of an amateur gardener given in the *Gardeners' Chronicle* in 1858 (quoted at the end of Part One, Chapter Three). The *Chronicle* simply said that an amateur was someone who loved gardening for its own sake; here Hibberd was saying that gardening actually made you a better person.

In *Rustic Adornments for Homes of Taste* Hibberd carefully guided readers through the practicalities of gardening, such as preparation of the soil, choosing plants and cheap⁵ equipment and accessories, and also made them believe that acquiring and keeping a garden and the other 'rustic adornments' would enhance their lives and put them in good standing in society. The book did so well in 1856 that a second edition appeared in 1857.

⁴ *Floral World*, September 1859, p.197.

The *Floricultural Cabinet* praised Hibberd's books unreservedly. About *The Town Garden*, they had said:

This neat little book contains a mass of information and instruction admirably adapted to benefit persons either having or about to form, gardens in such localities. It has our hearty commendation, being both excellent and cheap!⁶

On *Rustic Adornments* their opinion was:

The subjects which it embraces are treated upon with much ability, not only are they written in a pleasing and entertaining style, but are of an excellent practical character, in fact, "it is a perfect gem"⁷.

The success of *Rustic Adornments* encouraged the publishers, Groombridge and Sons, to start a serial version, a monthly magazine called *The Floral World and Garden Guide* (see Illustration 23B). Hibberd had by then moved from Tottenham into a villa in the north London village, soon to be commuter suburb, of Stoke Newington, and therefore could write from experience for town and suburban gardeners. The *Floral World* cost four shillings a year by subscription (so fourpence a month) and was stated to be 'for amateurs with moderate means and ambitions to excel in the various practices of horticulture', but the professional gardener was also 'to be welcomed warmly'⁸. It therefore seems to have been aimed at a similar readership to the *Cottage Gardener* when it had begun ten years earlier encouraging 'spade cultivation'. In those ten years the growth of towns had produced a significantly larger number of people who could benefit from advice on starting a small garden, but its success was largely due to Hibberd's being in a better position to talk to the readers than George Johnson had been, as a more affluent, although still practical gardener. Hibberd used the renovation of his own garden as a basis for many articles, and it eventually became well known through photographs, used for engravings as illustrations. Other articles were written by local florists and nurserymen in north London, so that the paper gave the impression of an interchange of information between gardeners themselves at all levels. In April 1858 Hibberd offered free seeds from his own garden to readers sending in a stamped addressed envelope⁹. The offer was so popular that in May he had to reduce the number of seeds sent from six to three or four¹⁰. By

⁵ The word 'cheap' in Victorian literature never seems to be used in a derogatory sense, but is used rather as twentieth century writers would use euphemisms such as 'reasonable' or 'good value'.

⁶ *Floricultural Cabinet*, October 1855, p. 265.

⁷ *Floricultural Cabinet*, May 1856, p. 145.

⁸ *Floral World*, January 1858, p. 1.

⁹ *Floral World*, April 1856, p. 80.

¹⁰ *Floral World*, May 1858, p. 118.

October he instigated a seed exchange scheme¹¹. Later he captioned a page of the magazine 'Fingerpost', which 'pointed' to the best products and plants available for readers' purposes¹² (see Illustration 23A). The fact that the *Floral World* was a monthly may also have helped it. It was not a direct competitor to the *Gardeners' Chronicle* or the *Cottage Gardener*, but could be bought in addition to a weekly.

Hibberd was not only a keen amateur gardener, but he set himself on a par with professionals and societies such as the Royal Horticultural Society by starting an 'experimental garden'. This began when he 'grew out' of the garden behind his house and began renting patches of land nearby to grow as many varieties as he could of potatoes¹³ and other vegetables, such as peas and beans¹⁴, to find the best kinds for his readers. He developed his own hybrids of flowers, such as pelargoniums, and he collected fruit trees, particularly apples. He experimented with ways of growing potatoes to prevent blight, and he tried out different ways of pruning and growing fruit¹⁵. Some of his methods brought in ridicule, but he always explained the reasoning behind them and presented the readers with logical conclusions. Although most of his experiments were self-financed, he did work with seed companies and nurserymen to promote his favoured varieties and was not averse to recommending products he liked, including a particular brand of sherry¹⁶.

Hibberd's comments could be as scathing as Loudon's or Glenny's but they were generally fair. As well as his criticisms of jobbing gardeners referred to earlier, he described most rustic garden furniture makers as 'a set of miserable incapables' and then recommended a neighbouring firm¹⁷. He encouraged everyone to try gardening, introducing ideas such as 'the plunging system' whereby plants were kept in pots and sunk into trenches in the garden filled with coconut fibre when at their best and removed to reserve ground when off season, to be kept until the next year¹⁸. This was suggested as an alternative to the more expensive bedding plants which had to be replaced annually, but it does not seem to have caught on.

The *Gardeners' Chronicle* could not ignore the success of the *Floral World* and the needs of amateurs. In March 1858 it announced its intention to 'furnish some papers more directly aiming at [the] instruction

¹¹ *Floral World*, October 1858, p. 238.

¹² *Floral World*, March 1867, p. 92.

¹³ In 1868 he had grown 250 different sorts: see the *Floral World*, January 1871, p. 13.

¹⁴ In 1871 he reported on fifty sorts of kidney beans: *Floral World*, May 1871, p. 132.

¹⁵ See *Floral World*, June 1872, p. 166.

¹⁶ See *Gardener's Magazine*, 11 December 1875, p. 645.

¹⁷ *Floral World*, July 1858, p. 152.

¹⁸ *Floral World*, May 1864, p. 93.

[of amateurs]¹⁹. This was really missing the point and did not go nearly far enough. The amateurs did not want information adapted for them by professionals who thought they knew what the amateurs wanted, they wanted it written specifically for their own needs. The professionals found this difficult because they had been trained for gardening in different circumstances from the amateurs. The *Chronicle* was careful to imply that only they had the requisite experience to do the job, but of course they did not. Their articles appeared sporadically over the next few months under the sub-heading Amateur Gardening and included pieces on annuals, bedding plants, the dahlia, the chrysanthemum, wall fruit, the auricula, 'a word for the ladies', strawberries, and potting up plants. However, this led to further confusion as to who the articles were written for, which resulted in the definition of an amateur gardener appearing in May 1858²⁰.

The period between 1858 and 1861 was a time of re-positioning in the world of horticultural publishing as all the papers re-defined themselves. Robert Hogg continued to run the *Florist*, but also joined George Johnson at the *Cottage Gardener* in 1858. He therefore became responsible for both a weekly and a monthly, and continued to promote the interests of fruit-growers in both papers. Johnson was also a keen fruitist, and acted as chair of the Pomological Society for many years. In 1861 the *Cottage Gardener* changed its image, or perhaps simply recognised the image it had already attained, and re-named itself the *Journal of Horticulture, Cottage Gardener and Country Gentleman* (see Illustration 19B). This was no doubt calculated to give it a more serious air and widen its appeal. When paper excise duty was abolished that year it felt confident enough to retain its price of threepence but increased its pages from twenty-four to thirty-two. Its sub-papers were then amalgamated into the *Poultry, Bee and Household Chronicle*. Hogg later became his own publisher, under the name of the Office of the Journal of Horticulture, which eventually took over production of the *Florist* as well.

In January 1861 the *Florist* published an 'Envoir' by D of Deal, who had now become a prominent contributor and perhaps editor. It stated that the calendar of work would be henceforth divided into a part for florists' flowers for exhibition, by Charles Turner, the nurseryman, and a part for 'what small gardeners should do each month' by D himself. D was the Rev. Henry Honywood D'Ombraun but was never referred to as such in the *Florist*. In 1862 the *Florist* became the *Florist and Pomologist*, edited by Hogg and John Spencer, the gardener and designer, who had been involved in the paper for over ten years. The following year Spencer was succeeded by Thomas Moore (1821-1887), a botanist, who was

¹⁹ See *Gardeners' Chronicle*, 27 March 1858, p. 240, previously quoted at the end of Part One, Chapter Four.

curator of the Chelsea Physic Garden. In 1861 Moore started the *Floral Magazine*, which D'Ombrain joined (under his real name) in 1862. It was almost a throwback to the botanical magazines, featuring new plants with descriptive papers and coloured illustrations, which of course were now much cheaper to produce.

The most revolutionary change in the mid-century happened gradually. The Harrison brothers had closed the *Floricultural Cabinet* in 1859, but the following year they replaced it with a new weekly paper, the *Gardener's Weekly Magazine*. It was a straightforward, descriptive title for a small sized publication of sixteen pages, looking like a newspaper, but its content was not very inspired. Its price, however, was only a penny ha'penny, which may have been tempting. This was emphasised in the 'introductory address':

The present are, however, not ordinary times. We have outlived the days of stage-coaches, and have been for some years reaping the benefits of a more rapid and perfect means of communication, interchange of sentiment and thought. In short, we live in the days of cheap literature, which is the "order of the day". The benefits attending on this state of things are numerous and unquestionable; to the gardener especially, whose operations are so much dependant on the state of the weather and season, it is a matter of importance to have the assistance of a weekly monitor, and an advantage to be made speedily aware of all matters of interest that transpire in connection with its pursuits, as well as to be able to communicate quickly, and at the lowest possible cost, with his professional brethren and amateurs throughout the length and breadth of the kingdom²¹.

They went on to urge each reader to find another subscriber to double the readership and make it possible to increase the size of the paper. It seemed as if the title was being kept alive pending the arrival of a good editor to breathe some life into it. In 1861 they found the ideal editor in Shirley Hibberd. He had proved his capability with the success of the *Floral World*, and was probably looking for a more influential position on a weekly. The *Floricultural Cabinet* under the Harrison brothers had admired his books and perhaps had had him in mind as editor for some time. In 1865 the paper was re-launched in a larger format as the *Gardener's Magazine*. Here was a real rival to the *Gardeners' Chronicle* and the *Journal of Horticulture*. At twopence a week it undercut the *Journal* by a penny (the *Chronicle* was still sixpence). Unlike the others, the *Gardener's Magazine* did not have an agricultural sub-paper. It therefore seemed calculated to pick up readers from both papers who were amateurs and not interested in farming or smallholdings, and had only previously bought the other papers as there was no alternative (see *Illustration 21*). This was a public that Hibberd had already won over with both the *Floral World* and his

²⁰ See earlier, Part One, Chapter Three.

²¹ *Gardener's Weekly Magazine*, 2 January 1860, p.1.

books. By 1865 he had already published three more books for amateurs, *Garden Favourites*²² (about flowers), *Profitable Gardening*²³ (about fruit and vegetables), and *The Rose Book*²⁴, later re-named *The Amateur's Rose Book*. He would go on to produce seven more gardening books, as well as several on natural history. He was also the editor of a popular science magazine, the *Intellectual Observer*²⁵ and a frequent contributor to the illustrated newspaper, *The Pictorial World*.

Hibberd brought a new approach to gardening publishing. Following his early career in illustrated papers, he included articles of general family interest, featuring a supplement at Christmas, with stories, poems and reproductions of popular art. In 1864, before the re-launch, he stated that he was writing for twenty thousand readers and that he had decided after twenty years in journalism to drop the 'editorial we'²⁶. This may be more significant than it at first appears. The two rival papers were both run by joint editors and were therefore not in position to do the same. Also, the name change from the *Gardener's Weekly Magazine* to the *Gardener's Magazine* may have been calculated to emulate Loudon's paper. The paper kept the apostrophe before the 's' until 1882, when it changed its name, without explanation, to the *Gardeners' Magazine*.

In 1865, after the re-launch, Hibberd began a series of attacks on the Royal Horticultural Society and the *Gardeners' Chronicle*, criticising the society and its officials for arguing with exhibitors and the way it was running its finances and its garden:

Yes and a good thing has been done in another way in the acceptance (!!!) of the resignation of Mr Murray, the late assistant secretary, whose drawling consequentialism did the society more mischief than all the blunders of the Council in its tinkering with the garden and its quarrelling with exhibitors²⁷.

He made a point of putting his name to articles of criticism, explaining that he would only speak out where he felt it was in the public interest:

So long as there exists in the wide world a single sham or parvenu of the horticultural persuasion, there is a chance for the magazine to displease somebody. It has done something in this way already, and it will have the unpleasant task of repeating the

²² *Garden Favourites and Exhibition Flowers* (Groombridge and Sons, 1857), first issued in parts, re-printed in one volume as *Garden Favourites* (Groombridge and Sons, 1858).

²³ *Profitable Gardening* (Groombridge and Sons, 1863).

²⁴ *The Rose Book* (Groombridge and Sons, 1864).

²⁵ Listed by the British Library as *Recreative Science*.

²⁶ See the Preface to the bound volume for 1864.

²⁷ *Gardener's Magazine*, 13 May 1865, editorial.

operation whenever, on strictly public grounds (no other) some bubble requires to be burst, some pretender to be exposed, or some self-seeker checkmated²⁸.

Where Glenny had argued with the society on a personal basis, Hibberd appeared to be doing so on the part of the people, standing up for the middle classes and the amateur against the establishment.

A further change occurred in 1865, when both Lindley and Paxton died. It appeared to be the end of an era, but the new editor carried on the magazine in much the same way as before. He was Maxwell T. Masters (1833-1907), a botanist who was an expert on vegetable teratology, or monstrosity in plants. This was something that appealed to the Victorian love of the unusual or grotesque, but was also thought by some to be important evidence of evolution. The *Chronicle* still kept an emphasis on botany and the academic world, with an affinity with the RHS and the upper classes.

The late 1860s therefore saw what may be described as a golden age in horticultural publishing, with something for everyone and the editors rarely encroaching into the others' territory. Masters supported the establishment, Hogg and Johnson promoted fruit and flowers at the *Florist* and *Journal of Horticulture*, and Hibberd encouraged the amateurs with the *Floral World* and the *Gardener's Magazine*. The botanists, or those with a picturesque bent rather than a love of practical gardening, could turn to the *Floral Magazine* if they tired of Curtis's. There was also room for two new papers, the *Gardener* and the *Villa Gardener*.

The *Gardener* appeared in 1867. It was a monthly, published in Edinburgh and was edited by William Thomson (1814-1895), gardener to the Duke of Buccleuch at Dalkeith, Scotland. It was later edited by Thomson's brother David (1823-1909), gardener at Drumlanrig Castle, Scotland. It consisted of forty-eight pages in a small format and described itself as 'a magazine of horticulture and floriculture'. It seemed to be aimed at amateurs, florists and professionals and was particularly keen on fruit and vegetables. It also featured the Rev. S. Reynolds Hole on roses, contained Hints for Amateurs and notes of horticultural shows around the country. Although published in Scotland, it did not confine itself to Scottish matters. It was a thoroughly friendly and encouraging paper, apparently only reviewing books it liked.

²⁸ *Gardener's Magazine*, 6 January 1866, editorial.

The *Villa Gardener*, started in 1870, was also a monthly of forty-eight pages. It was published in London and was aimed at suburban gardeners. It was edited by D.T. Fish (1824-1901), yet another Scottish gardener, who was employed at Hardwicke House. It seemed to make a feature of the fact that it was based in London and hence for town and suburban gardeners, and included sections such as Science for Villa Gardeners and The Parlour Gardener. It seemed to be following the style of *Rustic Adornments* and the popularity of the idea of *rus in urbe*, but did not contain much original material, often filling space with articles re-printed from other papers. It only lasted until 1875.

By 1870, therefore, a certain amount of complacency and cosiness may have set in. Gardeners could choose their favourite weekly for news and advertisements, while taking a monthly for coloured plates and more in-depth articles on flowers or fruit. All the papers were similar in appearance, but the editorial style distinguished them. The weeklies were in newspaper format with a few line drawings and engravings. The *Chronicle* and *Magazine* appeared on Saturdays and the *Journal* on Thursdays. The price of the *Chronicle* was still well above the others, but it appealed to a richer readership and to the trade, who may have been willing to pay for the classified advertisements. Also, it was no doubt shared among staff at estates and large nurseries. The choice between the *Journal* and the *Magazine* probably depended partly on loyalty and partly on personal preference both for style and content. The *Journal* still veered further towards fruit and still contained the sub-paper for farmers and smallholders.

The monthly papers were in smaller, book-like format. The *Floral World* and the *Florist* both had one colour plate per issue, whereas the *Floral Magazine* was predominantly illustrations, like *Curtis's*. The men responsible for all these papers, apart from Masters, had been plying their trade for years. Hogg and D'Ombra were in their fifties and Johnson almost seventy; even Hibberd was forty-five. It surely would not be long before a new name appeared to upset the balance and present a new choice to readers.

Chapter 4. (1871 to 1883) The Impact of William Robinson.

Soon after the start of the new decade the amicable world of horticultural publishing was disrupted by an intruder whose sole determination was to obtain readers and beat the others at their own game. The vehicle of disruption was a new paper called the *Garden*, the idea of William Robinson, a professional gardener, turned journalist. According to his biographer, Mea Allan¹, he had discussed the possibility of a new gardening paper with S. Reynolds Hole as far back as 1865, when they had met at the Royal Botanic Society's Exhibition at Regent's Park. Robinson pointed out that the *Gardener's Magazine* was the only weekly paper exclusively devoted to horticulture, the others being partly agricultural in content. Although Robinson admitted that Shirley Hibberd was a most zealous and capable editor, he did not get the circulation that the paper deserved. Hole claimed that he had suggested 'The Garden' as the name for the paper Robinson intended to publish:

I sat with my friend, William Robinson, under a tree in the Regent's Park, and suggested *The Garden* as a title for the newspaper which he proposed to publish, and which has been so powerful in its advocacy of pure horticulture of the natural, or English, school, free from rigid formalities, meretricious ornaments, gypsum, powdered bricks, cockle-shells, and bottle-ends².

Robinson was born in Ireland in 1838 to a poor Protestant family. He trained as a gardener from an early age, after his father had deserted the family. By the age of twenty-one he had reached the level of foreman at the garden of Sir Hunt Henry Johnson-Walsh at Ballykilcavan. There is a story that he walked out of his job one cold night in 1861 and left the plants in the greenhouses to die with the fires out and the windows open³. However, in spite of this deed, he managed to obtain a job with Robert Marnock at the Royal Botanic Society's garden in Regent's Park, London, with the patronage of David Moore (1807-1879), curator of Glasnevin Botanic Gardens, Dublin. It would seem more likely that he already had the job set up before he left.

Robinson became responsible for the herbaceous section of the garden, and as such became an expert in native British flowers. While in London, he taught himself French, joined the Linnean Society and began writing. He was always ambitious and had the single-mindedness to carry through his ideas. He toured

¹ Mea Allan, *William Robinson* (Faber and Faber, 1982), p.49. Information on Robinson's life is taken from this book.

² See S. Reynolds Hole, *The Memories of Dean Hole* (Edward Arnold, 1892), p. 240.

Britain, visiting botanic gardens and nurseries, and wrote about them for the *Gardeners' Chronicle*. He also wrote articles for Hibberd's *Floral World*. Hibberd even referred to him as his 'dear friend'⁴. In 1867 Robinson obtained sponsorship from Veitch's nursery and *The Times* newspaper to visit the Paris International Exhibition. He then toured France and the Alps, sending back reports of gardens and obtaining material for his book *Alpine Flowers for English Gardens*⁵. This was quickly followed by the more revolutionary *The Wild Garden*⁶, which started his reputation for changing the course of British gardening. His ideas were developed later in *The English Flower Garden*⁷, but in the earlier book he started to persuade people to turn away from the formal style of gardening, relying on tender, foreign plants which were planted temporarily, and instead to use permanent, hardy plants in informal, more naturalistic designs.

Robinson did not invent the herbaceous border (or mixed border, as he called it), nor did he have to persuade many professional gardeners that hardy plants were worth growing, but he managed to make his style of gardening fashionable. He was influenced by the work of Edouard André (1840-1911), who had designed parks in Paris and had worked at Sefton Park, Liverpool. He must also have received inspiration from the wild flowers in the mountains and also the larger landscapes in France with their greater diversity of flowers. His wild plantings were on a large scale. They were not suitable for small suburban gardens, but needed the expanse of a country estate to work well. Robinson, however, was not writing primarily for the town or suburban gardener; his sights were set on people of influence, with money.

In 1870 Robinson visited America, among other things to look for his father. On his return, in December, he set up a publishing office in Southampton Street, Covent Garden, London. He launched the *Garden* on 25 November 1871. He reputedly used all his savings and may have obtained money from his father. Financially it may have been a gamble, but Robinson was always very astute and invested in London property for many years, which provided him with a wealthy lifestyle in due course.

The *Garden* consisted of twenty-two pages in newspaper format and cost fourpence. It was calculated to succeed from the start and Robinson had done his homework well, relying on historical associations to

³ See, inter alia, Miles Hadfield, *Pioneers in Gardening* (1955, repr. Bloomsbury Gardening Classics, 1995), p. 191.

⁴ See *Floral World*, December 1865, p. 265. Robinson's articles appeared in the *Floral World*, January 1866, p. 18, April 1866, p. 104, May 1866, p. 139, and August 1866, p. 233.

⁵ William Robinson, *Alpine Flowers for English Gardens* (John Murray, 1870).

⁶ William Robinson, *The Wild Garden* (John Murray, 1870).

give it seriousness, and well-trying contributors whose names were already known by readers. It was described as 'an illustrated weekly journal of horticulture in all its branches'. Could this have been a deliberate attempt to revert to earlier respected papers when he used the same wording as in the first edition of the *Horticultural Register* in 1831, which described 'a taste for Horticulture in all its branches'? There is little doubt that Robinson was emulating Loudon, an even better respected editor than Paxton or Harrison, by calling himself the 'conductor' of the *Garden*. When the first half year's issues were bound together into a volume Robinson dedicated it to Loudon, and continued to dedicate each successive volume to a gardener he admired. The first issue contained an article by Edouard André on indoor gardens, S. Reynolds Hole on roses, David Moore on flowers and George Gordon (1841-1914) starting a series, *The Arboretum*. Another regular contributor was H. Noel Humphreys on garden design. Humphreys had been an illustrator on many of Loudon's books and had worked with Hibberd on the *National Magazine*. These were names that the public was already familiar with. Robinson also attracted some well known writers from other fields, such as Oliver Wendell Holmes, who he had met in America, to write occasional essays.

Some of the material in the *Garden* was not actually new. Reynolds Hole had been making a name for himself for ten years or so and his serial story of a horticultural society, *The Six of Spades*, which Robinson published in early issues of the *Garden*, had appeared in the *Florist* in 1860. Noel Humphreys' colour plates in the *Garden* were originally drawn for Jane Loudon's *British Wild Flowers*. It was not the content of the *Garden* which was so revolutionary; it was its appearance (see *Illustration 20*). The two column newspaper format was usual for the weeklies, but Robinson produced something more attractive and ornate. The layout of the other weeklies was often poor and haphazard. Articles were often broken up over several pages and illustrations sometimes appeared on a different page from the accompanying text. Robinson produced a much more polished magazine and divided the text into separate sections with decorative headings, almost like the separate 'sub-papers' of the *Chronicle* and *Journal of Horticulture*. The bound volumes were inscribed with gold lettering in Arts and Crafts style, with a facsimile of Robinson's signature on the spine. Right from the start, Robinson gave the magazine his personal stamp. Even now, the books stand out from others on library shelves with their individual eye-catching design. The other new idea was to introduce colour plates into a weekly magazine. In 1875 he published nine and in 1876, fifty-six. The plates could also be purchased separately in batches of a dozen, twenty-five, fifty

⁷ William Robinson, *The English Flower Garden* (John Murray, 1883).

or a hundred. Robinson later diversified his publishing enterprises, producing other people's books and becoming a specialised horticultural bookseller.

The *Garden* very quickly upset the balance of the established papers. In January 1872 Hibberd referred to the edition of 16 December 1871 as 'that pretentious periodical'. Robinson had published a list of recommended kitchen garden plants, but Hibberd claimed that he had copied the list from Hibberd's own work, and that this was unfair when Hibberd had done all the work of trialing the vegetables in his own garden. He pointed out:

The very first line, which declares that there is "but one sort of asparagus", our own readers will be familiar with; and those who are interested in tracing coincidences may be amused with what follows⁸.

Allegations of plagiarism and Robinson's lack of knowledge in growing vegetables⁹ were to be recurring themes in the years that followed.

The influence of Robinson's paper was enormous and all the weeklies had, to some extent, changed their appearance since the advent of the *Garden*. They all started to be divided into sections, although not as clearly marked as in the *Garden*, and they all started to use decorative headings for the separate sections. By 1875 there were more gardening papers than there had been for forty years, and in those days the papers had been very different: expensive hand-coloured botanical magazines sold only to the wealthy. Now they were mass-produced, cheap papers, full of information and news and available to almost everyone. They could be bought at bookstalls in railway stations without a subscription, so readers could pick and choose which one they wanted any week or month. There were four weeklies and four monthlies to choose from, as well as the two highly illustrated magazines, *Curtis's* and the *Floral Magazine*. It is worth looking at them in detail and comparing what was available for the price paid.

The *Garden* appeared on Saturdays and cost fourpence. As well as the twenty-two pages on small newspaper format, there were a few line illustrations and a colour plate of a flower every week. The separate sections were The Amateur's Garden (edited by Thomas Baines (1823-1895)), The Garden in the

⁸ *Floral World*, January 1872, p.17.

⁹ Robinson did produce some books on vegetable gardening, but other writers supplied the knowledge: see e.g. William Robinson with James Barnes, *Asparagus Culture: the Best Methods Employed in England and France* (George Routledge and Sons, 1881), and Robinson's edition of the Frenchman Henry Vilmorin Andrieux's *The Vegetable Garden* (John Murray, 1885).

House, The Fruit Garden, The Kitchen Garden, and Gardening for the Week. There were several separate articles and a Notes and Questions item in each section, as well as book reviews and short reports of RHS meetings and exhibitions. There was also a Household section with recipes. There were often articles on foreign plants and gardens, as well as native and wild flowers that could be grown in gardens. The format gave the reader the opportunity to turn to one particular section and know that everything in the paper on that subject would be found there.

The *Gardeners' Chronicle*, published on Saturdays, was edited by Maxwell Masters and had at last reduced its price by a penny to fivepence. It contained eight or ten pages of gardening features in a larger newspaper format and was now separate from the *Agricultural Gazette*. There were six to eight pages of advertisements for plants, seeds, equipment and situations for gardeners. Although some were 'situations vacant', more were recommendations by both private people and nurseries for gardeners who wanted to move on. The nurseries all made a point of stating that the men were experienced in running pine and stove houses, which must have been deemed essential in the 1870s. The design of the *Chronicle* was still disorganised and although it was copiously illustrated, with some full page pictures, one often had to search to find which article related to any picture which caught the eye. Regular sub-headings were The Villa Garden, The Farm, British Gardeners (a series of biographies of well known gardeners, living or dead), Garden Operations (for the ensuing fortnight) and Florists' Flowers. However, although these were separate headings emphasising the content of each section, they were not self-contained as in the *Garden* (see Illustration 18B). Longer articles described country house gardens, nurseries, foreign gardens and travel, occasional reports of society functions, reports of exhibitions and meetings of the RHS and other societies. The text ended with market reports, obituaries and sometimes Law Notes, correspondence columns and answers to readers' letters. The paper still seemed to be aimed at the country based middle and upper classes with farming interests, as well as the professionals. Many of the writers were well-known gardeners, nurserymen and botanists.

The *Gardener's Magazine* was the same size as the *Chronicle*, with ten pages of gardening content and about four of advertisements, many of which were books published by the paper's own publishers. It also came out on Saturdays but only cost two and a half pence. The editor was still Shirley Hibberd, whose name also appeared on many of the articles, both long and short. It started with an editorial and several news items. Regular features included Calls at Nurseries and Notes of Observation (natural history). There were practical articles on cultivating plants, book reviews labelled Literature and a Household

column (with the initials of Shirley Hibberd's wife). There were also short market reports and Law, as well as temperature charts of the weather and notes of plants in flower the previous week. The layout was more pleasing to the eye than the *Chronicle* and better organised, with about the same number of illustrations. An extra supplement still appeared at Christmas. On the whole, the paper appeared to be better value than the *Chronicle*, except for the advertisements, which would make the *Magazine* less useful for the professional. Although there was botanical content, it was less academic than the *Chronicle*, and more family orientated.

The *Journal of Horticulture* was the smaller size of the *Garden* and contained twenty-two pages, but half of these were the *Poultry, Bee and Pigeon Chronicle*. It cost threepence and came out on Thursdays. It was still edited by Robert Hogg and George Johnson. Regular features were Notes on Villa and Suburban Gardening, reports of country estates and Doings of the Last Week and Work for the Present Week. There were articles on Early Writers of English Gardening and Old Market Gardens and Nurseries of London, as well as reports on horticultural society meetings and exhibitions. The interests seem to reflect those of its editors: Johnson was always keen on history and vegetable gardening, and both he and Hogg were passionate about fruit. It seems that the use of historical biographies by Robinson in his bound volumes had encouraged the other papers to include more historical content. The *Journal* must have still mainly appealed to the farmers and smallholders who were prepared to accept so much material on poultry and bees, but there was also plenty for the amateur and professional alike.

The monthlies were all still published in the smaller, book-sized format and could not include the topical content of the weeklies, nor the advertisements. It is not possible to tell what the prices were as they do not appear in the bound volumes¹⁰. The *Floral World* was still under Shirley Hibberd in 1875, although he left the following year. It consisted of thirty pages and one colour plate. It was less individual than it had been, as Hibberd seemed to have transferred his personal comments and anecdotes to the *Gardener's Magazine*. The subject matter included flowers, fruit and vegetables in equal parts, and sometimes there were substantial extracts from recently published books. The last pages consisted of the Garden Guide for the month, notes of horticultural affairs and answers to correspondents.

¹⁰ Bound volumes in libraries occasionally include the outer wrappers of the monthly parts, which are often coloured and contain advertisements as well as having the price printed on them, but none of the ones used here did so.

The *Gardener* was still published in Edinburgh as well as London, was edited by David Thomson and contained an enormous fifty pages. Although there was a section called Hints for Amateurs, it was clearly now aimed primarily at professionals, with many articles for young gardeners in training. These included discussions on the relationship between employers and gardeners, gardeners' wages and advice to young gardeners taking exams. There were reports on particular features of private gardens such as Chatsworth and Cardiff Castle, and a section by 'the London correspondent'. The paper ended with a Calendar of Work and notices to correspondents.

The *Villa Gardener* was edited by D.T. Fish and contained forty-four pages. Like the *Garden* it was rigidly divided into sections: The Flower Garden, The Fruit Garden, The Vegetable Garden, The Shrubbery, The Greenhouse and Hothouse, The Conservatory, The Parlour Garden, Garden Requisites and Science for the Villa Gardener, Correspondence and Work for the Week. It is difficult to tell whether the paper was really aimed at amateur villa gardeners or professionals who worked in villa gardens. There was not much feeling of personality in the writing. Many articles were signed with initials, but those authors who were named rarely stated they were gardeners.

The *Florist* came in a slightly larger book format, and contained twenty-four pages and two colour plates. Most articles were signed and most authors were well-known gardeners or nurserymen, such as Thomas Moore, Peter Grieve, Alexander Forsyth (c. 1809-1885), head gardener at Alton Towers in Staffordshire, F.W. Burbidge ((1847-1905), a plant collector and botanist, and Thomas Baines. Flowers and fruit predominated in the subject matter, and the paper ended with Garden Gossip and Obituaries. It gave the impression of having a high reputation in the professional world and a long heritage on which to rely. Many of the contributors were by now also writing for William Robinson.

The *Floral Magazine* under Thomas Moore and H. H. D'Ombrian was the only rival to *Curtis's Botanical Magazine* and was a different concept to the other monthly papers. These would appeal to serious botanists and collectors of plants and may have been regarded more as 'coffee table books' to display rather than to use in a practical way. However, considering the interest in plant drawing and flower pressing by Victorian ladies, not to mention botany, they probably were widely used.

By the end of the 1870s Robinson had established himself as a publisher and writer and his success led him to introduce a new paper in March 1879. *Gardening Illustrated* broke new ground as it was the first

gardening paper to cost one penny. At last, it seemed, gardening literature really was available to all gardeners. It was aimed at 'the smaller class of gardens' and therefore intended to appeal to a wider readership than the *Garden*, taking in not just flowers, fruit and vegetables, but also town, villa, cottage and window gardening. It also appeared on Saturdays, it contained sixteen pages and included a Household section and book reviews. The appearance was slightly different from the *Garden* as the pages were laid out in three columns instead of two (see Illustration 24). There were few illustrations and no colour. Later in the year a larger illustration started to appear on the front page and the sections began to include House and Window Gardening, Aquaria and The Aviary. With the pictures of rustic summerhouses and indoor aquariums it was reminiscent of *Rustic Adornments for Homes of Taste*¹¹.

Robinson was now aiming at all markets and determined to prove he had taken readers from the other papers. In the 11 October 1879 edition of *Gardening Illustrated* he claimed that its weekly circulation was more than the whole of the United Kingdom horticultural press combined. He no doubt hoped that this would provoke an outburst from the other publishers, but they remained quiet. However, in September 1880 his chance for publicity came. The *Journal of Horticulture* of 23 September¹² reported that they had received a letter stating that in the last number of the *Garden* an article called Annuals for Early Spring, said to have been reprinted from an Irish paper, actually reproduced an article from an earlier edition of the *Journal*. The *Journal* stated that they had eventually procured a copy of the Irish paper (which they did not name and which was not available in England) and they felt it was a publication unworthy of notice which merely reprinted pieces from other papers.

This was bait for Robinson: the *Journal* had not actually accused him of anything, but he could not resist pretending that it had. He sued Hogg for libel when the *Journal* refused to publish an apology. On 22 March 1881 the case was heard. Robinson alleged that the letter had been fabricated but the judge found that there was no defamation as the *Garden* itself was never accused of plagiarism, and Robinson was ordered to pay costs¹³. He retaliated in the 2 April edition of the *Garden*. He spelled out to readers the fact that the *Journal* was in effect accusing the *Garden* of using the *Journal*'s original material, completely

¹¹ Shirley Hibberd's *Rustic Adornments for Homes of Taste* had been revised and published in a new edition in 1870, this time including the illustrations of the garden in Stoke Newington which had first appeared in the *Floral World*. So whereas Hibberd had started to imitate Robinson in breaking up the *Gardener's Magazine* into sections, Robinson was now producing *Gardening Illustrated* in a similar format to Hibberd's early work.

¹² *Journal of Horticulture*, 23 September 1880, p. 284.

¹³ See the report in *Journal of Horticulture*, 24 March 1881, p. 231.

disregarding the fact that it had actually done so and was the guilty party. He went on to say that the *Journal* had acted as it did because the editors were jealous of his success with his papers:

The *Garden*, though appealing to a more special class of horticulturalists only, now surpasses the *Journal* in circulation¹⁴.

Robinson went on to accuse Hogg of not allowing the *Garden* to be taken in the reading room of the RHS's garden when he was Pomological Director. Hogg replied by publishing a letter from the RHS saying that it was untrue. He went on to say that Robinson had shattered the good feeling with which horticultural journalism had previously been conducted:

He assumes the part of a censor of men superior in every respect to himself, and he criticises his contemporaries in a style which can only be characterised as impertinent¹⁵.

Robinson replied on 9 April by complaining about a previous action that Hogg had brought against him in court without giving him notice¹⁶. It had been based on a complaint that Robinson had used material compiled by Hogg for the RHS year book. Again Robinson seems to ignore the fact that he had actually plagiarised someone else's work. Robinson conveniently followed this article with one by a gardener called John Simpson who was complaining about Shirley Hibberd's having used some of his material in his lectures on fruit pruning. Having found Hogg unwilling to rise any further to his challenges¹⁷ he decided to try galling Hibberd.

By May 1881 Robinson was claiming that nearly a million and half copies of *Gardening Illustrated* had been issued in the preceding six months, and this was,

no doubt by far the largest number of any journal devoted to gardening or rural economy ever published in a similar time¹⁸.

Hibberd could not ignore this remark because the *Gardener's Magazine* frequently claimed on its front page: 'Largest circulation of any horticultural journal'. In the summer of 1881 Hibberd and Robinson started an extensive quarrel in their respective papers over an asparagus competition that Robinson had

¹⁴ *Garden*, 2 April 1881, p. 364.

¹⁵ *Journal of Horticulture*, 7 April 1881, p. 275.

¹⁶ *Garden*, 9 April 1881, p.387.

¹⁷ Hogg had said he would treat Robinson like Uncle Toby in the novel *Tristram Shandy* treated the fly buzzing around his head: 'This world surely is wide enough to hold both thee and me': see Brent Elliott, 'Robert Hogg - Standard Setter', *The Garden* (September 1992), p. 429.

supported and which Hibberd claimed had been a disaster¹⁹. The old resentment about Robinson not having grown vegetables resurfaced, compounded by Hibberd's remarks that Robinson had criticised Hibberd's book, *The Ivy*²⁰, as not worth the ink and paper used to write it. In August a letter was sent by lawyers acting for Collingridges, the publishers of the *Gardener's Magazine*, to Robinson, asking him what steps he proposed to take to remedy the prejudicial effect of his remarks²¹. He simply claimed that for every copy of the *Gardener's Magazine* sold, there were seven of *Gardening Illustrated*. No legal action seems to have been taken, but no doubt both parties hoped the publicity would boost their figures even more.

Looked at dispassionately, Robinson seems to seethe with rage as he writes, though it must be a rage of his own making as he promotes the arguments himself. Hibberd, like Hogg, seems to sit back calmly waiting for the next onslaught, well prepared with a quotation or anecdote in reply. The criticism on both sides eventually descended into racial abuse: Hibberd's having mentioned that Robinson was an Irishman, and should be proud of it, Robinson called Hibberd a cockney. The most accurate comment came from Hibberd, who said he felt proud to be a fellow-sufferer with so many others that Robinson had turned on in the past, adding that Robinson had tried to get Hibberd to write for his papers for years, without success:

Even in the present extreme case, I can imagine that a man so shallow and so vain may have committed himself to an accusation against me without any proper apprehension of its awfulness. We must make allowances for one too evidently wanting in "sweetness", and who, as regards "light", has written much about asparagus without having grown any²².

It is difficult to know why Robinson's attitude to other editors was quite so aggressive, considering that he was having such success with his papers. It seems that it could only be accounted for by his personality, and perhaps this was moulded by his early experience of being abandoned by his father and wanting to prove himself in the outside world. However, there may be another explanation. According to Mea Allan, in his old age he suffered from the affects of syphilis: a fall from a gate aggravated a latent condition, or made it more apparent, and he spent the last twenty-five years of his long life in a wheelchair²³. One of the effects of syphilis is general paralysis and the onset of dementia. This normally

¹⁸ See *William Robinson*, p. 125.

¹⁹ See in particular *Gardener's Magazine*, 11 June 1881, p. 321, and *Gardening Illustrated*, 23 July 1881.

²⁰ Shirley Hibberd, *The Ivy* (Groombridge and Sons, 1871).

²¹ See *Gardening Illustrated*, 20 August 1881, p. 303 (and *Illustration* 24).

²² See *Gardener's Magazine*, 6 August 1881, p. 446, and also 20 August 1881, p. 470.

²³ *William Robinson*, pp. 190-191.

starts many years earlier and the sufferer often experiences a mental exaltation and delusions that he is more powerful than he really is²⁴. Perhaps therefore his constant quarrelling and assertions that his papers were better than all the others was really a manifestation of the disease.

Robinson's publishing empire was increased further in March 1882 with *Farm and Home*, another penny weekly on agriculture and housekeeping, on both of which presumably he had no knowledge either. As his titles increased, he could not edit all the papers himself and he brought in a team of assistants who he moved about as they learned their trade. He began to attract contributors from many walks of life: professional gardeners, clergymen, gentlemen and women. Some of the names that went on to become better known were Peter Barr (1826-1909), a nurseryman specialising in daffodils, F.W. Burbidge, the Rev. Henry Harpur-Crewe, who helped to revive old varieties of herbaceous plants, the Rev. Wolley-Dod, Canon Ellacombe, H.J. Elwes (1846-1922), a country squire who published a study of lilies, George Maw (1832-1912), a scientist and plant collector who became an expert on crocuses, and of course Gertrude Jekyll. Many of these were upper middle class people with influential families and acres of garden. In using their names he was attracting a similar readership and awakening people to an interest in plants for their own sake and in using them as an essential part of the design of their homes. It did not matter whether the wealthy actually got their hands dirty, they felt they could be out there directing the work of their paid gardeners, and what was perhaps more important, making crucial decisions about what was planted and where. They could choose the plants themselves and design the gardens.

Although Robinson is attributed with creating a new style in gardening, his most important contribution to horticulture was his publishing empire. He started the cheapest papers and yet he also brought into gardening writing a new class of people. The respectable classes no longer needed to write under pseudonyms: it was acceptable to be paid as journalists. In claiming possibly exaggerated circulation figures for his papers he was typical of his time. With so many new papers opening and closing, publishers made optimistic claims in order to attract both readers and advertisers. Robinson's relentless insistence that his papers were selling better than anyone else's probably increased his readership as the publicity he created kept him in the forefront of readers' minds. As his papers were cheaper, it may well have been true that he did sell more. Whatever the truth, he shook up the sleepy world of horticultural

²⁴ See *Black's Medical Dictionary*, ed. William A. R. Thomson, 34th edn (Adam & Charles Black, 1984), p. 395.

publishing and in a group of determined, ambitious, hard-working men, he must have been the most determined and ruthless. He made marks on that world which were to change it yet again.

Between 1880 and 1884 the horticultural publishers reflected on Robinson's impact on their world. They realised that where he had moved they must follow. It no longer seemed financially worthwhile to produce the monthly magazines that had thrived for the last thirty years. In 1880 the *Floral World* closed and the more decorative and botanical *Floral Magazine* followed the next year. The *Gardener* finished in 1882 and even the giant of monthlies, the *Florist and Pomologist* admitted defeat in 1884. It seems readers were left with fewer choices, but in reality the place of the monthlies had now been taken by much cheaper books written with amateurs in mind. The weekly periodicals still served their purpose of supplying topical news, advertisements and calendars of work. They were regarded as newspapers that could be discarded when read, whereas books would be kept for reference and instruction. The gardening newspaper now came into its own as its price continually went down.

Chapter 5. (1884 to 1900) Penny Papers for All.

The year 1884 saw not only the demise of the last monthly horticultural paper, but the start of two new weekly papers, the *Gardening World* and *Amateur Gardening*, each costing a penny¹.

The *Gardening World*, or the *Gardening World Illustrated*, as it proclaimed itself, despite containing only four illustrations in fourteen pages, said it was 'exclusively devoted to all branches of practical gardening'. It was published in London in a three-column newspaper format and was aimed, it seems, mainly at professional gardeners, with only a two-page feature for amateurs. However, it included articles on Scotland and Ireland and information on everything from greenhouses, fruit and orchids, to reports of local horticultural societies.

Its first editorial answered the question, 'why another paper for gardeners?' It asked, who could doubt that in the United Kingdom there were 'fully a million persons deeply imbued with a love for gardening?', stating that:

the entire weekly circulation of all the gardening publications put together does not exceed the regular issue of a first-class daily paper, and it is impossible not to recognise the fact that an immense constituency still remains to be reached, taught, and interested in gardening pursuits. Who, twenty years ago would have believed that over 100,000 readers of gardening papers were possible? Yet some twenty years hence this large number may be far more than doubled².

These figures may be speculative, and it is difficult to understand exactly what is being said. It implies that there were a million people in the country interested in gardening, but that the readers of all the papers put together were not as many as one of the daily papers. Lucy Brown in *Victorian News and Newspapers* quotes³ *Deacon's Newspaper Handbook* as giving a circulation of 214,900 to the *Daily Telegraph* in 1885 and 130,000 to the *Daily Chronicle* in 1886. She quotes *The Times* as having a circulation of 60,886 in 1877, according to *The History of The Times*. No later figure is given. Geoffrey Best, in *Mid-Victorian Britain 1851-75* says that the figure of around 60,000 for *The Times* was overtaken during the 1870s by the cheaper papers, such as the *Daily News* and the *Daily Telegraph*⁴.

¹ The early issues of the *Gardening World* state that the cost is six shillings and six pence by subscription for a year, but later issues are priced at one penny each.

² *Gardening World*, 6 September 1884, p.1.

³ Lucy Brown, *Victorian News and Newspapers* (Clarendon Press, 1985), pp. 52-53.

⁴ Geoffrey Best, *Mid-Victorian Britain 1851-75* (Fontana Press, 1985), p. 248.

The *Gardening World* seems to imply that at the date of writing there were over a hundred thousand readers of gardening papers. Robinson had claimed in 1881 that five hundred thousand copies of *Gardening Illustrated* had been issued in six months. This would average out to 62,500 a week, which would leave less than forty thousand for all the other papers put together, although of course many people may have taken more than one. We have already seen that Shirley Hibberd claimed twenty thousand readers for the *Gardener's Magazine* in 1864. Compared to other popular papers the figures are not very high. These are some circulation figures for several penny papers of the late nineteenth century:

Family Circle (established 1877), 50,000.

Family Herald Supplement, 232,000.

Fireside Novelist (established 1881), 18,000.

Penny Illustrated Paper (established 1861), 200,000.

Penny Pictorial News (established 1877), 95,000.

Weekly Budget (established 1860), 350,000⁵.

It seems that the greatest growth in readers had already taken place by the 1880s. Raymond Williams, in *The Long Revolution*, states that the most rapid expansion of papers took place between 1855 and 1870. He stated that circulation of daily papers trebled between 1855 and 1860 and doubled again between 1860 and 1870⁶. He went on to say that in the next decade the expansion was thirty per cent and between 1880 and 1890 about twelve per cent.

The other new paper, *Amateur Gardening* ('For Town and Country, For the Home Garden, Villa Farm, Poultry Yard, Bee Shed and Housekeeper's Room'), was launched by Collingridges, the publishers of the *Gardener's Magazine* (now called the *Gardeners' Magazine*), under the tried and tested editorship of Shirley Hibberd. It contained the usual mix of items Hibberd had been writing about for years and, despite its universal designation, was aimed at the small gardener who did all his own work. It is interesting to see that it included the sub-sections originally featured in the *Cottage Gardener*, showing once again that George Johnson was something of a prophet when he tried to popularise them forty years before. The editorials were heavily weighted towards improving the environment, with pieces on the

⁵ Victor E. Neuburg, *Popular Literature, A History and Guide* (The Woburn Press, 1977).

⁶ Raymond Williams, *The Long Revolution* (Penguin, 1965), p. 222.

treatment of sewage, a 'green belt' around London and the promotion of the use of gas for cooking to avoid soot pollution. After three years the editorial chair was given to T. Sanders (1855-1926) and Hibberd, although continuing with the *Gardeners' Magazine*, turned his attention to rejuvenating the RHS garden at Chiswick (laying himself open to accusations of being a poacher turned gamekeeper) and organising international conferences on plants.

By 1885 *Amateur Gardening* was promoting a competition for the best essay on 'A Cheap Gay Garden'. The first prize was five pounds. It reported on 31 May that there had been thirty-three entries and the best were published in the following two weeks. On 4 April prizes were offered for sending in coupons from four issues of the magazine. The top prizes were a greenhouse, cold frame and lawn mower, and there were a hundred small prizes. The winners' names were published on 16 May and they came from Doncaster, Lancaster, Birkenhead, Derby and several London suburbs. This shows that the readers were well spread over the country. The paper seemed shameless in sparing no expense to increase its readership. The issue of 3 May 1884 compared itself to Loudon's *Gardener's Magazine* noting how the cost of gardening papers had dropped and the number had greatly increased.

The new papers had to contend with the three old-established weeklies and Robinson's two newer ones. The *Gardeners' Magazine* was now two pence and contained fourteen pages of text and ten of advertisements. The content was flowers, fruit and vegetables, with some emphasis on smallholdings, the environment and manures, with other articles aimed at family interests other than gardening. It still produced the Christmas supplement. The *Gardeners' Chronicle* was still fivepence and contained twenty pages of text and eleven of advertisements. The appearance was much improved, with clearer print and ornate sub-headings for the separate sections. There was plenty of botany and articles on foreign horticulture. The reports of societies' meetings and exhibitions had extended from the learned societies to the local ones. The *Journal of Horticulture* provided twenty-two pages, although they were smaller, and it had also adopted decorative sub-headings. The poultry section had gone, but there was still a page for beekeepers. Fruit was still considered important and there were plenty of reports of local shows. Robinson continued to provide colour plates with the *Garden*, which was also twenty-two pages, cost fourpence and was rigidly divided into sections. The appearance of the paper was rather cramped and there were few illustrations, although when they did appear they were photographs rather than engravings. *Gardening Illustrated* only provided fourteen pages, which seemed the standard quantity for a penny, and a few

pictures. To retain a distinctive character, it now started with answers to readers' letters on the front page, followed by separate sections, including one on birds, poultry, bees and aquaria.

A new kind of gardening magazine started in March 1888 in Manchester. The *Garden and Horticultural Sales and Wants Advertiser* was a fortnightly publication, three shillings per year by subscription. It contained notices of plants, equipment, hay, rabbits and similar items for sale, as well as advertisements for gardeners wanting situations. It attracted readers by offering prizes for articles or essays on gardening. It stated that it was started chiefly 'as a hobby' for gardeners in Manchester, Yorkshire, Cheshire and Derbyshire⁷. The readers' questions were in a Notes and Queries format, the questions asked one week, being answered by readers the following week. Sometimes discussions continued for several weeks. After January 1889 it was published weekly and became the *Garden and Horticultural Gazette* and was a penny an issue. The name changed again in the issue of 2 March 1889, to the *Northern Gardener*. A notice to advertisers in that issue stated that it reached large numbers in the Northern Counties who never saw London gardening papers. Over a hundred pounds a year was reputedly given away as prizemoney for essays on horticulture. In 1892 it was continued as *British Gardening for Amateurs and Professionals* until August 1893⁸.

Robinson continued to produce one new paper after another. *Woods and Forests* (costing two pence) had been launched in 1883, but was absorbed into the *Garden* after two years. His cheapest paper was *Cottage Gardening*, started in 1892, which was only a half-penny. It lasted for six years. By 1895, therefore, there were eight weekly papers; but all were drearily similar. The *Gardeners' Chronicle* had reduced in price to threepence, and half its thirty-two pages were advertisements. It described itself as 'a weekly illustrated journal of horticulture and allied subjects'. Its sections included The Apiary and it occasionally gave a full page black and white photograph as a supplement. It had also adopted a much more ornate title page, in keeping with the prevailing taste (see Illustration 18C). The *Journal of Horticulture* had modified its complete name again, and was now the 'Journal of Horticulture, Cottage Gardener and Home Farmer: A Chronicle of Country Pursuits and Country Life including Beekeeping'. Robert Hogg was still 'conductor', Johnson having died in 1886. D of Deal had joined the team and there were plenty of news items (Notes and Gleanings) as well as articles on flowers and fruit. The *Gardeners' Magazine* had lost Shirley Hibberd on his death (of exhaustion) in 1890, and was now edited by George Gordon. It described

⁷ See *Garden and Horticultural Sales and Wants Advertiser*, 20 October 1888.

⁸ These issues are in the Colindale newspaper library. It may have continued for longer.

itself as being 'for amateur cultivators and exhibitors of plants, flowers and fruits: for gentlemen's gardeners, florists, nurserymen and seedsmen: for naturalists, botanist, beekeepers and lovers of the country'. It had a plainer appearance and about ten pages of text, still costing twopence. A colour plate was sometimes given as well as the Christmas supplement. Robinson's *Garden* gave away a colour plate each week and continued its sectional format. Of all the papers it had changed the least. Robinson's crusade against formal gardening continued with a criticism of carpet bedding in Chicago, titled *Absurd Gardening*⁹. The *Gardening World* was edited by Brian Wynne (d. 1924), who had previously worked on the *Gardeners' Chronicle*. It had dropped the adjective 'illustrated', but was still described as 'a weekly paper devoted to all branches of practical gardening'. There were articles discussing the working conditions of gardeners, as well as science and the usual features on flowers and fruit.

It seems that the *Gardening World* was predominantly a paper for professional gardeners, and being much cheaper than the *Gardeners' Chronicle* probably appealed to the junior members of the profession, rather than the head gardeners, foremen or nurserymen. It shows that the profession was still strong and all the fears gardeners seemed to have had earlier in the century, that amateurs would take over their monopoly, were unjustified. As we saw in Part One, Chapter 3, the numbers of professional gardeners increased fourfold between 1871 and 1881. This must have been due partly to the popularity of gardening among the upper classes, as encouraged by William Robinson, as the middle and working class gardeners who did their own work would never have employed professionals anyway. The real threat to gardeners came with the First World War, after which only the wealthiest could afford to maintain gardens in the way they had done in Edwardian times.

By the 1890s the papers seemed to have lost their individuality: they all focused on the same topics, such as orchids and exotic fruit. They all wanted to appeal to beekeepers and botanists as well as practical gardeners. In trying to keep their prices down so as not to lose readers, they seemed to have cut corners and produced something so basic that there was no originality. The personality of the editors failed to come through. Perhaps it was inevitable that the balance would eventually tip the other way. Cheap papers were all well and good for those who needed them, but by the end of the century printing processes and photography had improved so much that it seemed wasteful not to use them in something that needed visual images as much as gardening did. The more expensive magazines were now using

⁹ See *Garden*, 12 January 1895.

photogravure instead of engravings to provide more realistic illustrations and it was not long before a new paper was started which used modern techniques to their best advantage.

Country Life began in 1897. It was a weekly costing sixpence and its founder was Edward Hudson (1854-1936). Its main attraction as far as gardening was concerned was to present the real gardens of the privileged classes to other people of similar standing. The taste of the owner was emphasised, not the skill of the head gardener. This was the beginning of armchair gardening, a peep through the keyhole. Loudon had marvelled at the talents of Louisa Lawrence, and criticised Paxton's garden at Chatsworth, but he had been unable to show it to his readers. Now they could see gardens as they really were, albeit in various shades of grey.

Hudson was a printer's son, who had given up training to be a solicitor and taken over his father's business at the age of twenty-one¹⁰. *Country Life*, then as now, was not predominantly a gardening magazine. Its focus was on all country matters, including racing, hunting, dogs and other sport, liberally sprinkled with pictures of and references to the royal family. It had started as a paper called *Racing Illustrated*, changed its name to *Country Life Illustrated* in 1897 and became *Country Life* in 1901. It is included here among gardening magazines because it was the forerunner of the 'glossy' gardening magazines which came later in the twentieth century, such as *Homes and Gardens* and, much later, *Gardens Illustrated*. It started to mention gardens only in connection with the descriptions of country houses, but because gardening and garden design was becoming so popular and fashionable among the upper classes Hudson must have realised that it was worth putting in more details about the gardens and actually introducing a column on gardening itself. The first picture of a garden in *Country Life* was of Stoneleigh Abbey in February 1897. In the issue of 6 March 1897 the gardening column, *In the Garden*, began. As well as describing a mixed flower border, it offered to answer readers' questions in future issues. There was a close connection with Robinson's *Garden*, which Hudson took over in 1900. Gertrude Jekyll introduced the architect Edwin Lutyens to Hudson, and articles about his buildings began to appear in *Country Life*. Jekyll also contributed articles on gardening.

Country Life continued what Robinson had started by bringing in the upper classes as writers and made it respectable for the wealthy to have their gardens displayed in public to anyone who was prepared to pay

¹⁰ Information on *Country Life* comes from *Consumer Magazines of the British Isles*, ed. Sam G. Riley (Greenwood Press, Westport Connecticut, 1993).

for a copy of the magazine. The magazine appealed not only to those who actually lived in the British countryside, but also to those in the colonies who regarded British country life with nostalgia. The descriptions of country houses led to a movement to preserve vernacular architecture. Such an expensive glossy magazine was aiming at a different market to the cheaper weeklies, and was the forerunner of more specialist photographic gardening magazines, mostly monthlies, that started later in the twentieth century.

The older weeklies continued alongside the expensive monthlies, concentrating on the market they had already conquered. Robinson's *Cottage Gardening* was incorporated into a new *Gardener* in 1899 (costing one penny), and the same year *Popular Gardening* was launched. They amalgamated in 1919 and were eventually taken over by *Amateur Gardening*. Of the three great weeklies that had started in the mid nineteenth century, the *Journal of Horticulture* and the *Gardeners' Magazine* both lasted until the First World War, when gardening, like most of life, changed for ever. Many of the huge garden staffs who went off to the war never returned and the market for papers for professionals disintegrated. The amateur became the principle buyer of gardening papers. The *Gardeners' Chronicle* outlived its rivals and remained the paper for the professionals, even absorbing Robinson's *Gardening Illustrated* in 1956. It was amalgamated with the *Horticultural Trade Journal* in 1969. The *Gardening World* carried on until 1909, by which time there were several other cheap papers, such as *Garden Life* (started in 1901 and costing one penny) and *Farm, Field and Fireside* (starting in 1906 and also one penny). Robinson gave up personally editing any of his papers in 1899 and sold them in 1919. His attempt at an expensive, richly illustrated magazine, *Flora and Sylva* (launched in 1903 and costing two shillings and sixpence) had failed, but the *Garden* gradually moved up-market. Gertrude Jekyll was editor in 1900 to 1901, with Ernest T. Cook (1870-1915), who had worked under Shirley Hibberd on the *Gardeners' Magazine*. The *Garden* was amalgamated with *Homes and Gardens* in 1927.

Although George Glenny started his gardening column in *Lloyds Weekly Newspaper* in 1852, papers generally do not seem to have featured them until the early twentieth century. *The Times* started theirs in 1907. But later in the twentieth century, gardening was pursued to extremes that nineteenth century gardeners like Loudon, Hibberd and Robinson could have hardly imagined. The Dig for Victory campaign during the Second World War saw allotments analysed by government departments in a way the Victorians would have admired. At the other end of the market, the RHS Chelsea Flower Show became so popular and its prizes so coveted that several new shows had to be invented to ease the

pressure on space and satisfy the public's love of spectacle. Gardening programmes naturally became popular features first on radio and then on television, and their presenters became well-known personalities, but they could not eclipse the magazine as the favourite medium for imparting news and instruction to gardeners. High quality colour printing means that readers can now see plants and gardens realistically and cheaply. Even with the internet allowing instant communication and up-to-date information on events and sales, magazines seem to survive and appeal to all classes of gardeners.

At the beginning of the twenty-first century there are two magazines that survive from before 1900: *Amateur Gardening* and *Country Life*. They represent the two ends of the spectrum: practical guidelines on do-it-yourself gardening, and passive observation of the privileged at home.

Conclusion.

Amateur gardening is gardening for pleasure, or as the *Gardeners' Chronicle* said, 'according to the etymology of the term', gardening 'for the love of it'. It is a different concept to professional gardening, yet in the nineteenth century, as now, most amateurs learned their gardening from writers who were professional gardeners. The difference between the attitude of professional gardeners in the first half of the nineteenth century and the attitude of those in the present day is that in the nineteenth century professional gardeners did not write specifically for amateurs, they wrote for fellow professionals. It was when amateurs began to be regarded as a different, and special, group of gardeners, that amateur gardening as a concept began.

The amateur is not trained in all the skills and disciplines of the professional and does not need to be. As we have seen from the work of Nathaniel Paterson and Shirley Hibberd, among others, many amateurs found that it was better to totally disregard the advice of the professionals and start from scratch in teaching oneself, using common sense and experience, than try to follow what the professionals were advising. In that way they learned what they needed to know in the situation in which they found themselves. The amateur does not usually have the facilities or equipment of the professional and therefore has to improvise, but he can be selective in the parts of gardening he chooses to learn or to carry out. He has no one to answer to but himself. He must, however, work within constraints: he must fit his gardening into the time he has left over from other things, such as his job or family commitments. It was only when the particular needs of the amateur began to be met by gardening writers that amateur gardening as we know it today began to thrive.

In looking for evidence of amateur gardening in the nineteenth century, I have found not when amateur gardening began, but when it became recognised in itself as a leisure activity that stretched across all social classes. The beginnings of amateur gardening – gardening for pleasure – go back centuries, but amateur gardening before the mid-nineteenth century was a diverse activity, practised by different social groups in different ways. Amateur botanical collectors, such as Sir Richard Colt Hoare of Stourhead, grew unusual plants brought back from other continents. He was an amateur gardener in the sense that he loved growing plants, observed them and displayed them. He allowed them to be studied by professional gardeners and illustrators. He may have played a part in propagating them and potting them up himself, or

he may have left that to his paid gardeners; we do not know. However, he was the guiding mind behind collecting and hybridising them. In modern terms he was an amateur gardener. It is unlikely, however, that he showed so much interest in the vegetable or fruit garden or that he grew what were known as florists' flowers. It has been seen how Loudon in the 1820s tried to persuade gentlemen's gardeners that these might be interesting and useful plants to grow. On the other hand, at the lower end of the social scale, the florists became experts in growing a limited number of plants which did not need glass to survive and had not been collected from sub-tropical or desert regions. In the early 1800s they would never have contemplated the more unusual plants because they did not have the opportunity to buy them, nor the facilities in which to grow them.

This was not just a matter of money and the plants not being affordable by the florists; it was also a matter of social expectation. In the early nineteenth century, the many tiered middle classes had not emerged and there was less expectation of moving up the social scale. The florists grew florists' flowers because that was acceptable for their status in life. They did not expect anything more. The agricultural labourers or cottagers did not expect to grow the variety of fruit that the gentry or aristocracy had in their gardens: they had to be content with gooseberries and currants if they had anything, and certainly never expected to grow strawberries or grapes. The wealthy upper classes, however, who could afford greenhouses and the staff to look after them, expected exotic fruit even in the middle of winter, and aimed at obtaining not just grapes, but melons and pineapples. When 'amateur gardening' emerged in the 1850s, these aspirations were eventually held by the middle classes as well, and gardening became a free-for-all, where the orchid and tropical palm eventually became the staple fare of the nurseries and horticultural shows.

Some of the best-documented groups of amateur gardeners in the early nineteenth century are the florists. Florists' societies may have been started by professional gardeners who wanted to compete with each other in experimenting with flowers in their spare time, but the activity was taken up by tradesmen and craftsmen, and by the early nineteenth century many florists seem to have been semi-professional or professional nurserymen. However, there was still a large amateur following, as seen by the remarks concerning flower shows where there were arguments as to whether competitors should be classified as amateurs or professionals. There is much work that can still be done in tracing the development of florists and their influence over gardeners, both amateur and professional.

By the 1840s the florists began to take an interest in the more exotic flowers, such as the pelargoniums grown by Sir Richard Colt Hoare. At the same time, the nurserymen, who were gradually becoming retailers selling to the middle classes as well as the wealthy, began to look at the skills of the florists and the variety of plants they produced. This blurring of the social divide in flowers made possible a huge variety of plants available to everyone who could afford them. It was accompanied by an increased availability of equipment, such as glasshouses and their effective heating apparatuses, as well as rubber hoses for watering, lawn mowers and the chemicals used for pesticides and fertilisers. As the middle classes emerged as 'consumers' gardening was something they took to in order to enhance their homes and thus their social status.

Shirley Hibberd, in *Rustic Adornments for Homes of Taste*, tried to explain the interest in amateur gardening in 1856 by calling the age in which he was writing 'the Age of Toys':

We have nearly exhausted the means of morbid excitement, and are growing simpler, because purer in our tastes. Our rooms sparkle with the products of art, and our gardens with the curiosities of nature. Our conversation shapes itself to ennobling themes, and our pleasures take a tone from our improving moral sentiments, and acquire a poetic grace that reflects again upon both head and heart. The mark of our progress is seen in our love for toys, plant-cases, bird and bee-houses, fish-tanks, and garden ornaments, - they are the beads in our Rosary of homage to the Spirit of Beauty¹.

As has been seen, Hibberd took gardening to extremes and had a personal conviction that it did make one a better person. Gardening for him combined an interest in natural history with a desire to improve his home and his social position. He was not alone in this. Although he cannot be considered as a typical amateur gardener, as he eventually became a type of professional, his attitude to gardening and the way in which he originally became interested in it, are typical of many mid-century amateurs. They began to see gardens and gardening not just as an extension of their homes, but as adding a new dimension to their lives.

Although the reasons for plants and gardens becoming popular in the mid-nineteenth century are a combination of availability and opportunity for social advancement, the reasons for gardening becoming popular are different. It must be stressed that there is a difference between 'garden history' and 'the history of gardening'. Since 1999 there has been a marked interest in a study of the so-called 'social history of gardening'. This has been particularly apparent in the publication of two books with these

¹ Shirley Hibberd, *Rustic Adornments for Homes of Taste* (1857, repr. Century, 1987), Preface, p. xi.

words in their titles: Jane Brown's *The Pursuit of Paradise, A Social History of Gardens and Gardening*², and Charles Quest-Ritson's, *The English Garden, A Social History*³. Unfortunately, and disappointingly for people who want to learn about the social history of gardening, the books do not live up to their titles. They deal with the great gardens of the aristocracy and gentry: the same gardens that have been studied again and again by garden historians. They put in a token amount of information about 'amateur gardeners' in the twentieth century, but they claim that there is no evidence of amateur gardening or gardening by the middle and working classes before that time. It is to be hoped that in this study of nineteenth century gardening it has been shown that there is plenty of evidence available, most of which has never been used.

Gardening, by which is meant the practice of horticulture (as opposed to gardens, by which is meant a piece of land with cultivated plants on it), became popular in the mid-nineteenth century because the middle classes could not find servants appropriately qualified as gardeners to work for them. They therefore had to learn to teach the servants they could obtain to do the work in the way they wanted it done, or they had to learn to do it themselves. In the process many of them learned to like it. In an age when everyone who could afford a servant to do the menial tasks of the household employed as many as they could, it is unlikely that they would not have employed properly qualified gardeners if they had been available. However, as has been seen from contemporary accounts, they were not available. Properly qualified gardeners were only prepared to work in establishments that could provide the hierarchy and conditions they were used to. A qualified or 'professed' gardener would expect a garden boy or labourer to work under him. He demanded a reasonable level of pay and he wanted constant work throughout the year. Someone with a small garden, measured in feet or yards rather than acres, could not afford that quality of gardener and did not need it. The best he could hope for would be a jobbing gardener or a servant he already employed who could put in a few hours outside when he could be spared from looking after the horses or cleaning boots and shoes. This sort of man was not skilled in digging and potting, let alone grafting fruit trees or tending hot beds or cold frames. Someone had to teach him, and the professionals were not prepared to do so. They did not even believe that 'gardening', as they defined it, was possible in a small space, particularly if that space happened to be in a town.

² Jane Brown, *The Pursuit of Paradise, A Social History of Gardens and Gardening* (Harper Collins, 1999).

³ Charles Quest-Ritson, *The English Garden, A Social History* (Viking, 2001).

Amateur gardening in the nineteenth century must also be considered in the context of the British personality. It is not simply a matter of an urban population looking back with nostalgia to an idealistic view of life as it once was in the countryside and wanting to make a garden like a patch of the country. Life in the countryside before the nineteenth century revolved around the landed aristocracy and estates that had been in the same families for centuries. When mid-nineteenth century town dwellers found themselves in possession of a piece of land, they compared themselves in a small way to the powerful families who ruled the country. Not only did they have their own house in which they could do what they liked, but they had a piece of land to rule over, with boundaries to keep out the neighbours. Taking on a garden for many people was like having a new toy to play with, but it was also an expression of ownership and as such, power, as well as an expression of taste. A garden gave scope for creating something of beauty and it also had practical advantages. It gave people a place in which to relax and somewhere for their children to play. Even cottagers, if we are to believe Flora Thompson, enjoyed working in their gardens in the evening, although they may have spent all day working in the fields.

Once someone decided to take an interest in gardening, they often discovered that there was more to it than simply producing flowers to brighten the space outside their house. There was an element of studying natural history, which was already a popular activity and indulged in by people of all classes, including the respected clergy. Many clergymen acted as catalysts in promoting gardening in different sectors of society. Some encouraged allotment schemes and supported local flower shows; others were active in founding and administering national societies; yet others had personal interests in collections of plants or plant history and hybridisation. They gave an aura of respectability to gardening. Women also took to horticulture in its widest sense as an improving and useful activity. There was the opportunity to use flowers to enhance the inside of the house; they could also be subjects for art and crafts and they could be used to decorate clothes and hats. Flowers became an integral part of life. There were ample opportunities to see flowers growing in parks and to visit horticultural exhibitions and competitions; societies could be joined and lectures attended. There really was no limit to the way that flowers began to enhance and improve people's lives in the nineteenth century. People saw bedding plants in parks and wanted them; they saw ferns and orchids in conservatories and wanted them. Books and articles were written 'for the million': orchids for the million, grapes for the million, everything became available for the million.

The middle and upper classes also took it upon themselves to use gardening to improve the lives of the working classes. Allotment societies were formed and run; cottagers were encouraged to improve themselves. It was not only a matter of forcing them to garden, however. Country people had always gardened to grow their own food, often from necessity. Allotments originated as a way of replacing common land that had been available before the Enclosure Acts. Although political controversy had meant that the allotment movement was slow to be accepted universally, by the last quarter of the nineteenth century allotments were generally available to all, and cheap gardening magazines meant that even working class gardeners were provided for and their numbers grew. With terraced houses and semi-detached villas appearing round all cities and the amenities of cottagers improving, life in the mid-nineteenth century got better for the majority of people. Most who lived in new houses had some sort of garden and it soon became a universal expectation.

With this certainty that all who could, would have a garden, it is surprising that so little has been written or researched about the gardens of ordinary people in the nineteenth century. But gardens are not enduring objects. Unlike furniture, china, textiles, glass, silver, pictures, and all the other paraphernalia of everyday life that has been handed down to us, gardens rarely survive beyond their creators. A garden is not a material entity to be preserved like a piece of furniture or a patchwork quilt, it is more an idea, or an ideal, and this is particularly so in the case of amateurs' gardens, where possession of a house changed frequently and a garden was not necessarily preserved by the next occupant. The gardens that we can see that remain from the nineteenth century, albeit in reconstructed form, are mainly gardens which were designed and maintained by professionals. As has already been stated, 'garden history' tends to be interpreted as the history of garden design. How therefore, are we to find what amateurs really did with their gardens, and, more importantly, what their gardens really meant to them?

The evidence of amateurs' gardens is to be found in the gardening magazines of the nineteenth century and no one has yet made a thorough study of them. They remain largely untouched and their contents unknown. Their editors and writers often remain anonymous. Some guidance has now been provided as to how to approach these magazines by explaining how they came into being and who their 'conductors' and contributors were.

Part One serves as background material for any study of nineteenth century gardening, whether amateur or professional, whereas Part Two is a more closely defined chronological narrative intended to serve as a

starting point for further detailed research into the horticultural periodicals, or any of their writers. Its main aim is to explain the reasons behind each publication and its target readership, and therefore should help to indicate where material relating to any particular aspect of gardening might be found. In summarising the main features of the publications in each of the five periods of the nineteenth century assistance is provided to researchers as to where they may find the information they seek.

Amateur gardening became a movement in its own right due in a large part to the work of two men who produced very different manifestations of gardening. This does not mean their garden designs or the way they taught the techniques of gardening, but the way in which they saw gardening develop and the needs they recognised and provided for. There are many writers who were influential and important in nineteenth century gardening, but these two, Shirley Hibberd and William Robinson, changed the course of amateur gardening by their new approaches and insight into what their readers wanted.

First, however, some of the earlier editors and writers should be considered, as well as what their contributions to gardening were. John Claudius Loudon is often referred to as the most influential and important horticultural writer of the nineteenth century. He produced vast encyclopaedias on gardening, natural history and architecture; he designed gardens, parks and cemeteries. He truly was a great garden designer and a great writer, but in the context of amateur gardening, his main contribution is the evidence he provides of gardening by amateurs in the early part of the century. His descriptions of real gardens are meticulous and extremely interesting: they paint vivid pictures of ordinary people's gardens and also give a lot of information on florists and what they grew. Loudon also had interesting ideas on educating professional gardeners and improving the lives of cottagers, but as far as the practice of gardening was concerned, he was a man of his own time. He did not foresee the rise of the amateur gardener as the dominant force in gardening and did little to help amateurs get away from their reliance on professionals to plan and maintain their gardens. Loudon wanted to see florists' flowers in gentlemen's gardens, but he did not want to see florists or amateurs growing grapes or orchids in glasshouses. It was outside his concept of gardening, and of life.

Loudon's contemporaries were Paxton, Harrison, Lindley and Glenny. They represent the diversity of gardening writers and each was important in taking gardening a stage further. Joseph Paxton and Joseph Harrison were traditionally trained professional gardeners. Paxton's story is well known and perhaps his greatest contribution to amateur gardening was making possible the mass-production of glasshouses.

Simply creating the Crystal Palace gave those who visited it a vision of what could be done in glass and must have made them envious of people wealthy enough to afford glasshouses of their own. Within years it was no longer an impossibility, as prefabricated 'Paxtonian' houses became available to 'the million'. Those who wanted the bedding plants they saw in the park at Sydenham and the roses and exotics they saw at horticultural shows held in the Crystal Palace, could now have them.

Harrison, by contrast, is not well known, but in the world of horticultural publishing he had an impact which should not be under-estimated. After collaborating with Paxton on the *Horticultural Register*, which gave him a good idea of what readers wanted, he started his own *Floricultural Cabinet*. It lasted twenty-six years, which was good run for a magazine at the time, and was then succeeded by what became the most popular magazine of the 1860s. He cannot be credited with knowing that that would happen, but in his own paper he found a formula that appealed to all readers who were interested in 'floriculture', whether they were florists, professionals or amateurs. He recognised that different sorts of people could find a common interest in gardening, which was the first stage towards accepting a universal type of 'amateur gardening'.

John Lindley was a different type of horticultural writer altogether. Trained as a botanist under Sir Joseph Banks, and accomplished as an illustrator as well as a writer, he saw horticulture as a science as well as a technical skill. Lindley was a staunch professional. He did not seem to have any idea that gardening could be put into the hands of the amateurs and survive, or perhaps he was simply protecting the interests of his readers, many of whom were professionals. Like Loudon, Lindley was immensely important in nineteenth century horticulture, but he is not one of the writers who helped amateur gardening to flourish.

George Glenny was the first amateur to make an impact in horticultural publishing. He was the pre-1850 type of amateur, a florist. Unfortunately, his personality interfered with any progress he may have made in promoting gardening for amateurs. There was such animosity between him and the other writers of the time, even Harrison, who was promoting the interests of amateurs as much as anyone, that the amateurs' cause was probably put back by his attitude and actions. He may have established himself as a rational writer in later life, but in the 1830s and 1840s his rampant rebellion against the professionals merely gave them further ammunition for keeping the amateurs at bay.

The influential writers of the 1850s began to show the professionals that there were other aspects of gardening to be considered that were outside the traditional sphere of the country estate and the nursery supplying the upper classes. Robert Hogg was a professional nurseryman, but, like Loudon, he was an educated Scotsman, who was perhaps enough of an outsider to the English professional gardening world to see that changes could be made. One of his main interests was fruit growing, and over the next few years fruit seemed to provide a bridge between the professional gardeners and the florists, and thereby forge a base strong enough to challenge the supremacy of the Horticultural Society and the *Gardeners' Chronicle*. In the 1850s the florists came to prominence as publishers and an alliance was formed between florists such as Edward Beck and John Edwards and fruitists such as Hogg and Thomas Rivers, as well as nurserymen such as Charles Turner and William Paul. They could all see that there was a growing market for their products and publishing their own magazines and books would probably help promote them.

A true amateur, who also had the common interest of fruit growing, was George Johnson. In starting the *Cottage Gardener* in 1848 he was trying to get people interested in the more traditional aspects of gardening, which he called 'spade cultivation', and take away concentration on the exotics and glasshouses. But it appeared that the world was not yet ready for him and the *Cottage Gardener* eventually only succeeded with much the same readership as the *Gardeners' Chronicle*. However, it did provide a viable alternative and rival and gave readers a better chance of having their comments and ideas published in the correspondence columns. Ten years after the beginning of the *Cottage Gardener*, another magazine was started which did succeed where Johnson had failed, and attracted a new readership – the amateur gardener.

Shirley Hibberd was the first editor to make a real breakthrough into the amateur gardening market. Until the start of the *Floral World* amateurs had had to make the best they could out of the papers written for professionals or for florists, and they had to accept that they were second class citizens in the gardening world. Hibberd not only wrote for amateurs, encouraging them and giving them sensible instruction, but he also carried out his own trials and tests of plants and gardening techniques to find the right products for all gardeners to use. His real strength was the way he could talk to amateurs at their own level and find out what they wanted and needed. When he took over the *Gardener's Weekly Magazine* and re-launched it, he expanded the opportunities for amateurs still further. He helped to create the whole gardening retail market, where things were specially designed for amateurs and through which the suppliers, nurserymen and seedsmen benefited. Hibberd provided for the emerging middle classes who did most of their

gardening themselves. By the 1880s this had become a market in itself and the cheap paper, *Amateur Gardening*, was specially created for it. However, by that time, amateur gardening had gone through another transformation, largely due to the influence of the most successful gardening writer of the last quarter of the century, William Robinson.

Robinson aimed at a different market. He is probably best known for his garden designs and emphasis on informal style. He used hardy plants native to temperate regions, using them to create permanent plantings in British gardens, instead of relying on temporary displays of tender plants. If the key to Hibberd's success is the combination of a love of natural history with his experience as a public speaker and journalist, the key to Robinson's is in his intimate knowledge of the wild plants of Europe and Britain and his intuition in cultivating the influential upper middle class people who admired his style of gardening. Whereas Hibberd encouraged the people of 'moderate means with ambitions to excel', Robinson aimed at much higher social classes who were amateur gardeners of a different type. Robinson had huge success with many of his gardening magazines. Like Hibberd, he recognised a gap in the market and he filled it. He attracted a group of writers from the upper middle classes, particularly women and clergymen, who perpetuated the 'Robinsonian' school of gardening which evolved into a peculiarly British style which is still admired and imitated throughout the world.

Hibberd's amateurs are like the people who took on 'do-it-yourself' in relation to home decorating in the twentieth century. Robinson's amateurs were people who employed gardeners to do the manual work, but who supervised them themselves instead of leaving everything to the head gardener. In this way, amateur gardening progressed through the whole structure of the British class system. Hibberd made it possible; Robinson made it fashionable. Royal patronage, when Prince Albert became associated with the Horticultural Society, gave gardening a status on the same level as other areas of the arts and made it something that people at all levels of society wanted to become involved in. By 1900 amateur gardening was available to all.

There is no doubt that gardening became a popular pursuit in all classes of society during the nineteenth century. The figure of a million potential readers quoted in the *Gardening World* in 1884 may well have been realistic. The price of gardening papers reduced dramatically by the end of the century, but this has more to do with the lower cost of printing and paper and the reduction of taxes than simply because they

became more popular and readership increased. All leisure activities increased and all popular papers increased.

How did gardening compare to other leisure activities in the nineteenth century? Geoffrey Best⁴ has listed the most conspicuous new uses of leisure, or recreation, in mid-Victorian Britain as popular railway excursions, the music hall and theatre, choral societies, brass bands and organised sport such as association football. Gardening, in comparison to these, is something one does alone, at home, or at least on one's own plot, such as an allotment. There are communal activities in gardening, such as participating in or visiting horticultural exhibitions, but principally it is a solitary or family activity, taking place in one's private world. Other 'home' activities might be reading, music, nature study, bird-fancying, decorative arts such as needlework, and collecting things. Gardening is the least criticisable of the 'new' activities. Railway excursions could be criticised as involving drinking, as could football. The music hall and theatre was widely disapproved of. Music could be criticised if the wrong sort of songs were sung or tunes played. It is difficult to see how gardening could be thought immoral, except perhaps by being too extravagant or tasteless. Much time was spent trying to get the working classes to take to gardening to keep them away from other temptations, and the worst that could happen in gardening seemed to be if they were too keen and gardened on Sundays. There is a connection between gardening and the movement known as 'muscular Christianity' in that gardening provides outdoor exercise and contact with nature. It can also be combined with education and it is productive; two more 'virtues' which qualify it as a form of rational recreation, in company with other cultural pursuits such as concerts and popular lectures and visits to museums and art galleries. Gardening was considered to have an element of respectability in being the subject of many books and articles by both women and clergymen, who often became figureheads in using gardening as a socially improving activity.

The real study of the social history of gardening can only be found through an intensive survey of the gardening magazines. This will produce lists of names of regular correspondents to the letter pages, some of whom also contribute articles from time to time, and whose gardens are sometimes described. It will be seen that many people corresponded with several papers, and through reading their work an idea can be had of what sort of gardens they possessed and what their interests were. In researching the life of Shirley Hibberd much biographical information was found in both the *Floral World* and the *Gardener's Magazine*, but he also wrote many letters to the *Gardeners' Chronicle* and other papers, including *The*

Times. Public records, such as the census, and registers of births, marriages and deaths, could then be used to check details. More information was found in local archives and some of his lesser known books were found in the British Library. Similar work could be done in relation to many, purely amateur, gardeners. Many other amateurs and florists lived near Hibberd and they are mentioned frequently in his publications, contributing letters and articles. They may not be as important in gardening history as he was, but they represent typical amateur gardeners. Reading as many papers as possible over a period of say ten years would produce several names which will crop up continuously and then local and public records could be searched to find the background of the people involved.

Researching florists would be even easier as many became professional, so advertisements for their products will help in providing details of where they lived and worked. Research could also be done on other retailers: nurserymen and seedsmen and glasshouse and equipment manufacturers. The history of their businesses can be traced through advertisements, and it will be found that many were frequent correspondents to the periodicals, which also include articles on visits to nurseries.

Detailed research such as this would produce a true picture of the social history of gardening even if no actual gardens can be discovered. There is absolutely no excuse for claiming that evidence is hard to find. It is simply a matter of reading what is there. The history of gardening is not the history of gardens, it is the history of the people who made the gardens and the gardens that were in their minds.

⁴ Geoffrey Best, *Mid-Victorian Britain 1851-75* (Fontana Press, 1985), pp. 218-249.

Appendix 1.

List of Nineteenth Century Horticultural Periodicals and their Contributors.

The following information is a guide to the various horticultural periodicals of the nineteenth century. It is not an exhaustive list, but I have tried to include all the periodicals I found mentioned anywhere. Information was originally obtained from Ray Desmond's 'Victorian Gardening Magazines' (*Garden History*, Winter 1977) and Brent Elliott's 'Gardening Times' (*The Garden*, September 1993). Further details were found in the catalogues of the British Library, the Lindley Library and the Colindale Newspaper Library. Biographical information came from Ray Desmond's *Dictionary of British and Irish Botanists and Horticulturalists* (Taylor and Francis and The Natural History Museum, 1994). Where discrepancies were found in dates of publication, I made a personal decision based on my own research, and any mistakes are my own responsibility. Where names appear in bold type they can be cross-referred to within and between the two lists.

Section (i). The periodicals.

Agricultural Gazette: see **Gardeners' Chronicle**.

Amateur Gardening (1884-present).

Weekly, aimed at amateurs, price originally one penny. Edited by Shirley Hibberd until 1887, then T. Sanders until after 1900.

Annals of Horticulture ('and Yearbook of Information on Practical Gardening') (1846-1850).

Beekeeper's Chronicle: see **Cottage Gardener**.

Birmingham and Midland Gardeners' Magazine (1852-1853).

Edited by C. J. Perry and J. Cole. Intended to supply information to northern gardeners.

Botanic Garden (and Fruitist) ('consisting of Highly Finished Representations of Hardy Ornamental Flowering Plants Cultivated in Great Britain') (1825-1851).

Monthly; large format one shilling and sixpence, small format one shilling. Author **Benjamin Maund**; included two page 'Auctarium' of horticultural news.

Botanical Cabinet (1817-1833).

Produced by **Conrad Loddiges** to illustrate plants grown in Loddiges nursery, Hackney.

Botanical Magazine: see **Curtis's Botanical Magazine**.

Botanical Register ('consisting of Coloured Figures of Exotic Plants, Cultivated in British Gardens; with their History and Mode of Treatment') (1815-1847).

Started by **J.B. Ker** and **Sydenham T. Edwards**; edited by **John Lindley** from 1829.

Botanist ('containing accurately coloured figures of tender and hardy ornamental plants') (1837-1846).

Joint editors **Benjamin Maund** and **Rev. J.S. Henslow**.

Botanists' Repository (1797-1812).

Proprietor **Henry C. Andrews**.

British Flower Garden ('containing Coloured Figures and Descriptions of the Most Ornamental and Curious Hardy Flowering Plants') (1823-1838).

Merged with the **Botanical Register**.

British Gardening for Amateurs and Professionals: see **Gardening and Horticultural Sales and Wants Advertiser**.

Cottage Gardener (and Country Gentleman's Companion) (1848-1861), continuing as **Journal of Horticulture** (1861-1915).

Weekly paper started to promote 'spade cultivation' by **George W. Johnson** and published by **Orr & Co**. Newspaper format; price threepence. **Robert Hogg** joint editor from 1858. At various times it incorporated the **Poultry Chronicle**, and **Beekeeper's Chronicle**, later the **Poultry, Bee and Household**

Chronicle. Hogg bought the paper and set up the Journal of Horticulture publishing company, which later took over the **Florist** and published booklets called 'Manuals for the Many'.

Cottage Gardening (1892-1898).

Weekly published by **William Robinson**; price half-penny. Incorporated into the **Gardener** in 1899.

Country Gentleman ('a Cottage, Villa, Farm and Garden Newspaper') (1850).

Price sixpence. **George Glenny** was horticultural editor.

Country Life (Illustrated) (1897-present).

Glossy, photographically illustrated weekly, including gardening with country pursuits.

Started by **Edward Hudson**; price sixpence. Originated as *Racing Illustrated*, gradually incorporated information on gardens and a gardening column, 'In the Garden'.

Curtis's Botanical Magazine ('or Flower Garden Displayed') (1787-1983).

Founded by **William Curtis** as the first botanical magazine; monthly; price originally one shilling; comprising three hand-coloured plates of newly-introduced plants with descriptive text; original circulation three thousand copies. Later size and price varied, but usually forty-five plates per year. Editor after 1827 **William J. Hooker**. It had outlived all its rivals by 1860. In 1995 the name was adopted by the *Kew Magazine* (started 1984).

English Flower Garden ('a monthly magazine of Hardy and Half-Hardy Plants') (1851-1853).

Editor **W. Thompson**.

Floral Cabinet ('and Magazine of Exotic Botany; comprising figures and descriptions of popular Garden Flowers') (1837-1840).

Lithographs by **J.B. Knowles** and **F. Wescott**.

Floral Magazine (1861-1881).

Monthly magazine specialising in new flowers, with many coloured illustrations, similar to the earlier botanical magazines. Started by **Lovell, Reeve**, who published **Curtis's Botanical Magazine**. Editors

were Thomas Moore and Rev. H.H. D'Ombraïn. Artists were W.H. Fitch, James Andrews, W.G. Smith, F.W. Burbidge and R. Dean. It was too botanical to appeal to florists.

Floral World and Garden Guide (1858-1880).

Monthly paper published by Groombridge and Sons, small format, price fourpence. Editor Shirley Hibberd until 1876. Aimed primarily at amateurs 'with moderate means'. Wood engravings by Benjamin Fawcett.

Floricultural Cabinet and Florist's Magazine (1833-1859).

Monthly paper in book format, price sixpence with two colour plates. Published by Whittaker, Treacher in London and G. Ridge in Sheffield. Started by Joseph Harrison for floriculturalists and carried on after his death in 1855 by his sons, J. J. and E. Harrison. Claimed circulation of 50,000 in first year, and in 1840 still claimed 10,000. Replaced by *Gardener's Weekly Magazine* in direct succession.

Floricultural Magazine and Miscellany for Gardeners (1836-1842).

Editor Robert Marnock; sixpence per issue.

Floricultural Review and Florists' and Gardeners' Register (1852).

Editor J. Slater.

Florist (1848), Florist and Garden Miscellany (1849-1850), Florist, Fruitist and Garden Miscellany (1851-1861), Florist and Pomologist (1862-1884).

Monthly paper of thirty-two pages and one colour plate, started by Edward Beck, Henry Groom, John Edwards, Charles Fox, Charles Turner and Thomas Rivers. Beck was the first editor, but in 1851 Turner took over, assisted by John Spencer. Sold 900 copies in 1848. In 1853, Robert Hogg became editor and later assumed ownership. Spencer was joint editor in 1862, and was succeeded by Thomas Moore (and possibly William Paul). Moore was sole editor from 1875.

Florists' Guide: see Gardeners' Magazine of Botany.

Florists' Guide (and Gardeners' and Naturalists' Calendar) (1850).

Florist's Journal (1840-1845), **Florist's Journal and Gardener's Record** (1846-1848).

Monthly published by Groombridge and Sons, with one colour plate, successor to the **Horticultural Journal** and intended to be a better quality paper for florists. Editor **George Glenny**.

Florist's Magazine: see **Floricultural Cabinet**.

Florists' Magazine ('a Register of the Newest and Most Beautiful Varieties of Florists' Flowers') (1835-1856).

Edited by **Frederick W. Smith**; four shillings a copy.

Florists' Register: see **Horticultural Journal**.

Garden ('An Illustrated Weekly Journal of Gardening in All Its Branches') (1871-1927).

Weekly paper, twenty-two pages, price fourpence, 'conducted' by **William Robinson** and launched as a rival to **Shirley Hibberd's Gardener's Magazine**. First weekly to include colour plates. Taken over by **Edward Hudson** (of *Country Life*) in 1900. Became absorbed into *Homes and Gardens*.

Garden and Horticultural Sales and Wants Advertiser (1888), **Garden and Horticultural Gazette** (1889), **Northern Gardener** (1889-1892), **British Gardening for Amateurs and Professionals** (1892-1893).

Published in Manchester, at first bi-weekly, then weekly; one penny an issue.

Garden Companion: see **Gardener's Magazine of Botany**.

Garden Oracle ('and Economic Year Book') (1859-1896).

Annual publication under editorship of **Shirley Hibberd**, originally connected with the **Floral World**.

Gardener ('a Magazine of Horticulture and Floriculture') (1867-1882).

Monthly paper, forty-eight pages, published in Edinburgh and later London as well. Aimed at amateurs, florists and professionals. Edited by **William Thomson** and later **David Thomson**; contributors included **S. Reynolds Hole**. Revived in 1899 as **Popular Gardening**.

Gardener (1899-1919).

Price one penny; weekly. Took over **Cottage Gardening** and amalgamated with **Popular Gardening** in 1919.

Gardener and Practical Florist (1843-1844).

Published by Groombridge and Sons. Included George Glenny as writer.

Gardener, Florist and Agriculturalist (1847).**Gardener's Annual (1863).**

Editor, S. Reynolds Hole.

Gardeners' and Farmers' Journal (1847-1853).

Successor to the **United Gardeners' and Land Stewards' Journal**. Included with *Mark Lane Express and Agricultural Journal* (1854-1880).

Gardener's and Forester's Record (1833-1836).

Launched by Joseph Harrison; sixpence per issue.

Gardener's Catalogue (1896).

Editor, Sampson Morgan.

Gardeners' Chronicle (and Agricultural Gazette) (1841-1969).

Weekly paper founded by John Lindley (editor of the horticultural part) and Joseph Paxton to provide a rational alternative to papers of George Glenny and John Loudon. Originally sixteen pages including general news. The **Agricultural Gazette** was included 1844-1873. Lindley and Paxton both died in 1865 and Maxwell T. Masters took over editorship. Amalgamated with the *Horticultural Trade Journal* in 1969.

Gardener's Gazette (1837-1844), **Amateur and Working Gardeners' Gazette (1844-1845)**, **Amateur Gardeners' Gazette (1845-1846)**, **Gardeners' Gazette Edition of United Gardeners' and Land**

Stewards' Journal (1845-1847), **Glenny's Gardener's Gazette** (1859-1863), **Glenny's Gazette and Midland Florist** (1863-1864), **Gardeners' and Farmers' Journal** (1847-1880).

First weekly gardening paper, founded by **George Glenny**, who was editor 1837-1840. **John Loudon** editor 1840-1841; **James Main** 1841; then Glenny re-instated until 1843. Other papers were different versions of Glenny's paper as his fortunes waxed and waned.

Gardeners' Hive (1850).

Editor **J. T. Neville**. Weekly aimed at florists and amateurs; price twopence.

Gardener's Magazine ('and Register of Rural and Domestic Improvement') (1826-1843).

Conductor **John Loudon**; published by **Orr and Co.** Started with circulation of four thousand copies. Originally quarterly (price five shillings), then bi-monthly (price three shillings and sixpence), finally monthly (price two shillings and sixpence, reduced to one shilling and sixpence in 1834). Reputedly brought in an income of £750 a year for Loudon.

Gardener's Magazine (1862-1882); **Gardeners' Magazine** (1882-1916).

Successor to **Gardener's Weekly Magazine**. **Shirley Hibberd** editor. Launched in new, larger format in 1865 and became the best-selling gardening magazine of the 1860s, when published by **Collingridges**. Price twopence ha'penny. After Hibberd's death in 1890, editor **George Gordon**.

Gardeners' Magazine of Botany, Horticulture, Floriculture and Natural Science (1850-1851), **Garden Companion and Florists' Guide** (1852).

At first two shillings and sixpence per month, but down to one shilling and sixpence when it became **Garden Companion**, which lasted ten issues. Edited by **Thomas Moore**, **W.P. Ayres** and **Arthur Henfrey**. **H. Noel Humphreys** wrote on garden design.

Gardener's Monthly Volume (1857).

Produced by **George W. Johnson**.

Gardener's Record ('an Irish fortnightly Journal of Gardening and Rural Economy') (1869-1885).

Gardener's Record and Amateur Florist's Companion (1852-1854).

Editor J. T. Neville.

Gardener's Weekly Magazine (1860-1862).

Successor to **Floricultural Cabinet**, conducted by J.J. and E. Harrison. Price penny ha'penny, small size newspaper format. Succeeded by **Gardener's Magazine**.

Gardening Illustrated (1879-1956).

Weekly paper produced by William Robinson. Price one penny. Absorbed into **Gardeners' Chronicle**. Claimed one and a half million copies issued in six months by 1881.

Gardening World (Illustrated) (1884-1909).

Weekly, fourteen pages, price one penny. Mainly aimed at professional gardeners. Incorporated into *Garden Work* (started in 1901).

Garden-Work for Villa, Suburban, Town and Cottage Gardens (1884-1896).

Glenny's Gardener's Gazette: see **Gardener's Gazette**.

Glenny's Quarterly Review of Horticulture, Literature, the Arts and General Science (1853-1855).

Incorporated **Horticultural Journal**.

Gossip of the Garden (1856-1863).

Monthly, small size, thirty-six pages, price threepence. For florists and suburban horticulturalists, originally published in Derby and London; from 1857 London only. Founder editors: E.S. Dodwell and John Edwards. Later edited by William Dean, John Sladden and A.S.H. Originally issued a thousand copies and said it needed five thousand subscribers to survive.

Horticultural Journal and Florists' Register ('of Useful Information Connected with Floriculture') (and Royal Lady's Magazine (1831-1833)) (1833-1839).

Started by George Glenny to promote florists' flowers and his own society, the Metropolitan Society of Florists and Amateurs. **Horticultural Journal** was revived in 1854 and incorporated with **Glenny's Quarterly Review of Horticulture**.

Horticultural Register (and General Magazine) (1831-1836).

Founded by **Joseph Paxton** and **Joseph Harrison** (who left after one year to set up the **Floricultural Cabinet**). **James Main** was editor from 1835. Cheap alternative to botanical magazines.

Horticultural Review (1894); Country and Town (1894); Horticultural Review (1894-5).

Journal of Horticulture: see Cottage Gardener.

Journal of the Horticultural Society of London (1846-1855), Proceedings of the Royal Horticultural Society (1859-1865), Journal of the Royal Horticultural Society (1866-present).

Ladies' Magazine of Gardening (1841).

Edited by **Jane Loudon**, but discontinued after eleven issues due to her husband's illness.

Magazine of Botany and Gardening (British and Foreign) (1833-1837).

Editor **James Rennie**. Monthly; sixteen pages of plates and text.

Midland Florist (and Suburban Horticulturalist) (1847-1863), Glenney's Gazette and Midland Florist (1863-1864).

Conductor **John Frederick Wood**. Monthly, forty-six pages, very small size. **Alfred G. Sutton** editor from 1857.

Northern Gardener: see Horticultural Sales and Wants Advertiser.

Paxton's Flower Garden (1850-1853).

Edited by **Joseph Paxton** and **John Lindley**. Revised edition by **Thomas Baines** (1880-1885).

Paxton's Magazine of Botany (and Register of Flowering Plants) (1834-1849).

Two shillings per issue; monthly, including four colour engravings.

Pomological Magazine (1827-1830).

Edited by **John Lindley**; assisted by Robert Thompson and illustrated by Mrs Withers. Five shillings for four colour plates.

Popular Gardening: see the **Gardener** (1867-1882).

Poultry, Bee and Household Chronicle; **Poultry Chronicle**: see **Cottage Gardener**.

Proceedings of the Royal Horticultural Society: see **Journal of the Royal Horticultural Society**.

Transactions of the Horticultural Society of London (1807-1848).

Expensively printed on best quality paper.

United Gardeners' and Land Stewards' Journal (1845-1847).

Started as a rival to **Glenny's Gardener's Gazette**. Editor Robert Marnock; John Dickson brought in as floricultural editor. Took over **Gardener's Gazette** in 1847 and later that year became **Gardeners' and Farmers' Journal**.

Villa Gardener (1870-1875).

Monthly paper with forty-eight pages, aimed at suburban London gardeners. From 1874 edited by D.T. Fish.

Woods and Forests (1883-1885).

William Robinson's paper aimed at foresters. Price twopence. Absorbed into the **Garden**.

Section (ii). The contributors.

A.S.H.

Unidentified editor of **Gossip of the Garden**.

Andrews, Henry C. (1794-1830).

Illustrator on **Botanists' Repository**; also produced works on heathers and geraniums.

Ayres, William Port (1815-1875).

Nurseryman from Blackheath, south London, later Nottingham, specialising in pelargoniums. Also patented glasshouses. Co-editor, with Thomas Moore, of **Gardener's Magazine of Botany**.

Baines, Thomas (1823-1895).

Gardener at Catteral House, Lancashire, and Southgate House, London. Contributor to the **Garden and Gardening Illustrated**.

Beaton, Donald (1802-1863).

Head gardener at Shrubland Park, expert on the bedding system; contributor on flower gardens to the **Cottage Gardener**.

Beck, Edward (1804-1861).

Nurseryman of Isleworth, Middlesex. Retired merchant seaman and slate merchant, turned florist. Quaker. Founding editor of the **Florist**; proprietor 1848 to 1850. Wrote *Treatise on the Cultivation of Pelargonium* (1847).

Cole, J (dates unknown).

Gardener to J. Willmore Esq. of Edgbaston. Editor of **Birmingham and Midland Gardeners' Magazine**.

Curtis, William (1746-1799).

Editor of the **Botanical Magazine**. Apothecary from Alton, Hampshire; demonstrator at the Chelsea Physic Garden (1722). In 1777 produced *Flora of London*.

D of Deal: see D'Ombraïn, Henry Honywood.

Dean, William (1825-1895).

Editor of **Gossip of the Garden and Florists' Guide**. Nurseryman of Shipley, Yorkshire, later at Farnham and Sparkhill, Birmingham.

Dickson, John (dates unknown).

Florist. Floricultural editor of United Gardener's and Land Steward's Journal.

Dodwell, Ephraim Syms (1819-1893).

Retired cigar merchant; florist specialising in pinks and carnations; founder editor of **Gossip of the Garden**.

D'Ombrian, Rev. Henry Honywood (1818-1905).

Vicar of Westwell, Kent, and amateur gardener. Wrote as **D of Deal** (where he had previously lived) on amateur gardening in the **Florist** from 1857, and may have later become editor. Joined **Thomas Moore** as editor of the **Floral Magazine** in 1862. Founder member and secretary of the National Rose Society.

Edwards, John (d. 1862).

Florist from Holloway, north London. Joint founder of the **Florist and Gossip of the Garden**. Founder and secretary of the National Floricultural Society in 1851 to further the cultivation of florists' flowers.

Edwards, Sydenham Teast (c. 1769-1819).

Illustrator; son of a Welsh schoolmaster. Worked with **William Curtis**, then set up the **Botanical Register**, financed by James Ridgway, for which he drew nearly 350 plates.

Fish, David Taylor (1824-1901).

Scottish gardener employed at Hardwicke House; editor of the **Villa Gardener**.

Fox, Charles (1794-1849).

Illustrator; worked on the **Floricultural Cabinet and Gardeners' Chronicle**. Joint founder of the **Florist**.

Glenny, George (1793-1874).

Watchmaker and amateur florist from Clerkenwell, London. Made money out of insurance, then proprietor of the **Horticultural Journal**, **Gardener's Gazette** and several related papers. Wrote gardening column in *Lloyd's Weekly London Newspaper*.

Gordon, George (1841-1914).

Contributor to early editions of the **Garden**. Editor of the **Gardeners' Magazine** 1890 to 1913. President of the National Sweet Pea and Dahlia Societies.

Groom, Henry (active 1820s to 1850s).

Nurseryman and florist from Walworth, south London. Joint founder of the **Florist**.

Harrison, Joseph (d. 1855).

Gardener to Lord Wharncliffe of Wortley Hall, near Sheffield. Founded **Horticultural Register** with **Joseph Paxton**, then **Gardeners' and Foresters' Record** and **Floricultural Cabinet**.

Harrison, J.J. and E. (dates unknown).

Sons of **Joseph Harrison**; carried on publishing **Floricultural Cabinet** after his death; founded **Gardener's Weekly Magazine**, which became **Gardener's Magazine**. Also published *Manual of Science and Arts* (1854).

Henfrey, Arthur (1819-1859).

Scottish botanist; curator of Botanical Society of London; editor of **Gardener's Magazine of Botany**.

Henslow, Rev. John S. (1796-1861).

Joint editor of the **Botanist**. Professor of botany at Cambridge; set up Cambridge Botanic Garden in 1831.

Hibberd, James Shirley (1825-1890).

London journalist and amateur gardener; author of *The Town Garden* (1855), *Rustic Adornments for Homes of Taste* (1856) and over a dozen other books on gardening and natural history. Editor of the **Floral World**, **Gardener's Magazine** and **Amateur Gardening**.

Hogg, Dr Robert (1818-1897).

Scottish nurseryman, graduate of Edinburgh University; joint proprietor of the Brompton Nursery, west London. Author of the *Fruit Manual* (1860). Editor of the **Florist** (1852-1870). Joint editor and later proprietor of the **Cottage Gardener**, which became the **Journal of Horticulture**.

Hole, Rev. Samuel Reynolds, Dean of Rochester (1819-1904).

Rose expert; contributor to the *Garden*, the *Gardener* and other magazines. Author of *A Book about Roses*, *A Book about the Garden*, etc. Founder of the National Rose Society.

Hooker, Dr William Jackson (1785-1865).

Professor of botany at Glasgow University (1820-1840), editor of the *Botanical Magazine*. First director of the Royal Botanic Gardens, Kew (from 1841).

Hudson, Edward (1854-1936).

Printer's son who started *Country Life*.

Humphreys, Henry Noel (1810-1879).

Journalist, garden designer and illustrator. Related to John Loudon, for whom he produced many illustrations. Worked with Shirley Hibberd on popular magazines in 1850s and later on *Gardener's Magazine of Botany and the Garden*.

Johnson, George William (1802-1886).

Barrister, professor of moral and political economy at Calcutta University (1836-1842). Author of *The History of English Gardening*, *Principles of Practical Gardening*, and other books. Founder and editor of the *Cottage Gardener*.

Ker, John Bellenden (1764-1842).

Founder of the *Botanical Register* and editor from 1815 to 1824. Contributor to *Curtis's Botanical Magazine*.

Lindley, John (1799-1865).

Botanist. Professor of botany at University College, London; assistant secretary to the Horticultural Society; editor of the *Botanical Register* and the *Pomological Magazine*; horticultural editor of the *Gardeners' Chronicle*.

Loddiges, Conrad (1743-1826).

Nurseryman; proprietor of Loddiges Nursery, Hackney, London and of the *Botanical Cabinet*.

Loudon, Jane Wells (1807-1858).

Writer and journalist; wife of John Loudon. Wrote *Gardening for Ladies* (1840) and started the **Ladies' Magazine of Gardening**. Revised and edited many of her husband's books after his death.

Loudon, John Claudius (1783-1843).

Agriculturalist, landscape gardener and architect. Author of *The Suburban Gardener and Villa Companion* (1838) and *The Suburban Horticulturalist* (1842) and many other works on gardening, natural history and architecture. Proprietor and 'conductor' of the **Gardener's Magazine**; horticultural editor of the **Gardener's Gazette**.

Main, James (c. 1765-1846).

Nurseryman and plant collector in China. Editor of the **Horticultural Register** (1835-1836); assistant editor of the **Gardener's Gazette**, and editor from 1841 to 1843.

Marnock, Robert (1800-1889).

Scottish nurseryman and landscape designer; curator of the botanical and horticultural gardens, Sheffield; later the Royal Botanic Society's Garden at Regent's Park, London, where he employed William Robinson. Editor of the **Floricultural Magazine**; the **United Gardeners' and Land Stewards' Journal**; and the **Gardeners' and Farmers' Journal**.

Masters, Dr Maxwell Tylden (1833-1907).

Son of the nurseryman and garden designer, William Masters. Botanist, doctor of medicine at Edinburgh University; lecturer in botany at St George's Hospital, London. Expert on vegetable teratology (monstrosity in plants); editor of the **Gardeners' Chronicle** (1865-1907).

Maund, Benjamin (1790-1864).

Chemist, bookseller, printer and publisher from Worcestershire. Joint editor of the **Botanist**; author of the **Botanic Garden**.

Meares, Robert (active 1850s).

Assistant to George Glenny and John Loudon on the **Gardener's Gazette**.

Moore, David (1807-1879).

Curator of Glasnevin Botanic Garden, Dublin, Ireland from 1838. Contributor to the *Garden*.

Moore, Thomas (1821-1887).

Botanist. Worked at Regent's Park (1844-1847) and curator of Chelsea Physic Garden, London (1848).

Editor of *Gardener's Magazine of Botany* (1850-1852), joint editor of the *Florist* with Robert Hogg from 1861. Editor of the *Floral Magazine* (1862-1881); joint editor of the *Gardeners' Chronicle* (1866-1882).

Neville, J. T. (active 1850s).

Editor of the *Gardener's Hive* (1851) and the *Gardener's Record* (1852-1854). Lived at Ebenezer House, Meeting House Lane, Peckham, Surrey.

Paul, William (1822-1905).

Nurseryman from Hertfordshire, specialising in roses. Author of a *Handbook of Villa Gardening* (1855).

Paxton, Sir Joseph (1803-1865).

Gardener to the Duke of Devonshire; designer of the Crystal Palace and patented glasshouses. Proprietor of *Paxton's Magazine of Botany* and *Paxton's Flower Garden*; founder of the *Horticultural Register* and the *Gardeners' Chronicle*.

Perry, Charles James (c. 1822-1873).

Florist from Castle Bromwich, Birmingham. Editor of the *Birmingham and Midland Gardeners' Magazine*.

Rennie, Rev. James (1787-1867).

Professor of zoology at King's College, London. Editor of first two volumes of the *Magazine of Botany* (1833-1834). Emigrated to Australia in 1840.

Rivers, Thomas (1798-1877).

Nurseryman at Sawbridgeworth, Hertfordshire, specialising in fruit and roses; pioneer of growing fruit under glass. Joint founder of the **Florist**.

Robinson, William (1838-1935).

Irish gardener and author of *Alpine Flowers for English Gardens* (1870), *The Wild Garden* (1870), and *The English Flower Garden* (1882). Proponent of gardening with hardy flowers in informal designs. Proprietor and editor of the **Garden**, **Gardening Illustrated** and several other papers. Gave up active editing in 1899 and sold his papers in 1919.

Rutger, Thomas (c. 1800-1860).

Gardener and designer from Devonport. Garden designs appeared in **Loudon's Gardener's Magazine** and the **Floricultural Cabinet**. First edition of the **Gardener's Weekly Magazine** was dedicated to him.

Sanders, Thomas William (1855-1926).

Editor of **Amateur Gardening** 1887 onwards. Author of *Sanders' Encyclopaedia of Gardening*.

Sladden, John (c.1813-1870).

Surgeon from Ash, near Sandwich, Kent. Florist specialising in gladiolus. Editor of **Gossip of the Garden**.

Slater, John (c.1799-1883).

Florist of Cheetham Hill, Manchester. Issued descriptive catalogue of tulips (1843), *Amateur Florists' Guide* (1860). Editor of the **Floricultural Review**.

Smith, Frederick William (1797-1835).

Botanical artist; brother of another illustrator, E. D. Smith. Worked on **Paxton's Magazine of Botany** (1834-1837), then set up the **Florists' Magazine** and was illustrator and editor 1835-1836. Also worked on the **British Flower Garden**.

Spencer, John (1809-1881).

Gardener to Lord Landsdowne at Bowood. Joint editor with **Charles Turner** of the **Florist** in 1851 and with **Robert Hogg** in 1861.

Sutton, Alfred G. (1818-1897).

Partner in the seed firm of Suttons, son of founder, J. Sutton. Editor of the **Midland Florist** (1857-1858).

Sweet, Robert (1782-1835).

Nurseryman, author of *The Geraniaceae* (1818-1830); and the **British Flower Garden** (published posthumously).

Thompson, William (1823-1903).

Seedsman of Ipswich; of the firm Thompson and Morgan.

Thomson, David (1823-1909).

Gardener at Drumlanrig Castle, Scotland (1868-1897). Brother of **William Thomson**. Editor of the **Gardener**.

Thomson, William (1814-1895).

Gardener to the Duke of Buccleuch, Dalkeith, Scotland. Brother of **David Thomson**. Editor of the **Gardener** (1869-1882).

Turner, Charles (1818-1885).

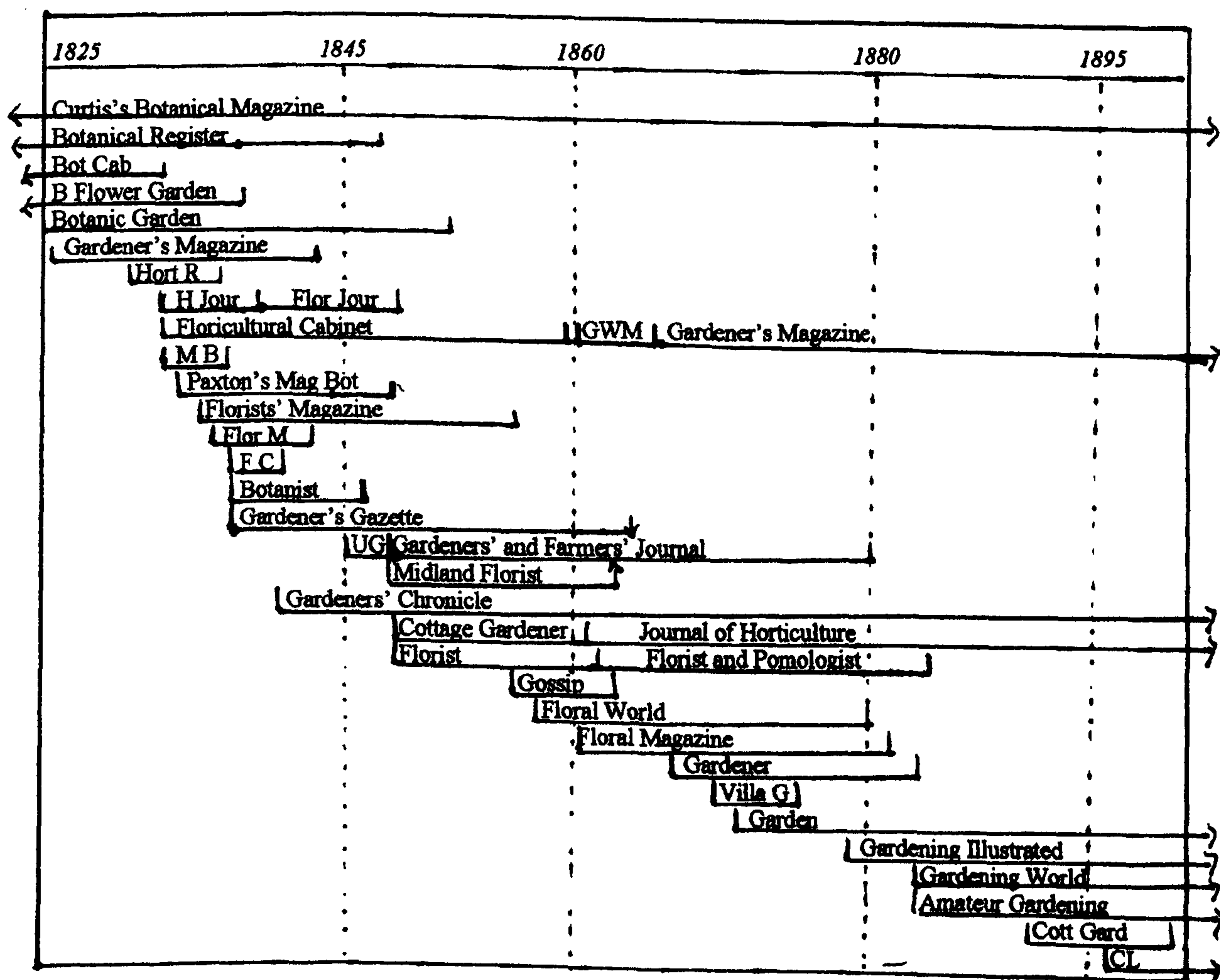
Nurseryman, proprietor of the Royal Nurseries, Slough. Original promoter of Cox's Orange Pippin apple. Joint founder of the **Florist**, and editor (with **John Spencer**) 1851-1860. In 1861 started writing a calendar of work for gardeners.

Wood, John Frederick (active 1840s).

Nurseryman at The Coppice, near Nottingham. Conductor of the **Midland Florist**.

Appendix 2.

Table of Principal Horticultural Periodicals of the Nineteenth Century.



Abbreviations

Hort R	Horticultural Register
H Jour	Horticultural Journal
Flor Jour	Florist's Journal
GWM	Gardener's Weekly Magazine
M B	Magazine of Botany
Flor M	Floricultural Magazine
F C	Floral Cabinet
U G	United Gardeners' and Land Stewards' Journal
Cott Gard	Cottage Gardening
C L	Country Life

Appendix 3.

Illustrations.

Section (i) List of illustrations.

1. The Butters family garden in King Edward's Road, Hackney:
 - A. Photograph of the family picking fruit (Jennifer Davies, *The Victorian Flower Garden*, p. 218).
 - B. The garden depicted in the *Gardener's Magazine*, 23 September 1876.
2. Shirley Hibberd's garden in Stoke Newington:
 - A. Plan of the garden from the *Floral World* 1858. The bottom section is the garden as he found it, the middle and top sections are his plans for improvement.
 - B. Shirley Hibberd's front garden, from *The Town Garden* (2nd edn, 1859).
3. Plan of John Loudon's garden (from Jane Brown, *The Pursuit of Paradise*).
4. Plans of Mrs Lawrence's garden from Loudon's *Gardener's Magazine*, July 1838, pp. 306, 307, 320, 321.
 - A. The house and garden.
 - B. The kitchen garden
5. Advertisements for guano and weedkiller (from *The Victorian Garden Album*, pp. 56, 98).
 - A. Weedkiller.
 - B. Guano.
6. The Paxtonian glasshouse:
 - A. Advertisement for the Paxtonian glasshouse from the *Gardeners' Chronicle*, January 1860 (from Miles Hadfield, *A History of British Gardening*, Plate XXVIIIa).
 - B. An illustration of Shirley Hibberd's Paxtonian house in the *Floral World* 1873, p. 165.
7. Loddiges' nursery and planting schemes (from David Solman, *Loddiges of Hackney*, pp. 38-40, 61):

- A. Abney Park Cemetery.
 - B. Loddiges' nursery and arboretum (originally from Loudon's *Encyclopaedia of Gardening* (1843)).
 - C. Loddiges' camellia house, designed by John Loudon.
8. Plant protection and training:
- A. A Wardian case, as used for transporting plants (from Penelope Hobhouse, *Plants in Garden History*, p. 245).
 - B. A decorative Wardian case, as used in parlours (from Shirley Hibberd's *Rustic Adornments for Homes of Taste* (1857), p. 152).
 - C. A Waltonian case (a heated Wardian case), as used for propagating plants (from *Rustic Adornments*, p.170).
 - D. A grape vine trained to be used on a dining table (from Jennifer Davies, *The Victorian Kitchen Garden*, p. 128).
9. Equipment used by florists (from Tom Carter, *The Victorian Garden*, pp. 160, 163).
- A. Case to protect and transport plants.
 - B. Items used for growing carnations and tulips.
10. Pages from Victorian seed catalogues (from *The Victorian Garden Catalogue*, pp. 19, 83).
- A. Examples of the number of cucumbers available
 - B. Examples of flower seeds available.
11. Professional gardeners:
- A. The full garden staff at Chatsworth House, Derbyshire, in 1900 (from Charles Quest-Ritson, *The English Garden*, p. 209).
 - B. The bothy staff at Blenheim Palace, in about 1870 (from Jennifer Davies, *The Victorian Kitchen Garden*, p.31). The bothy staff were the under-gardeners.
12. Later Victorian nurseries in London, showing the vast glasshouses in which were grown orchids, ferns and other tender plants (from Mireille Galinou, *London's Pride*, pp. 168, 172, 173):

- A. Henderson's Pineapple Nursery, Edgware Road.
- B. B. S. Williams' Victoria and Paradise Nurseries, Holloway.
- C. Wills and Segar's Nursery, Onslow Crescent, Kensington.

13. Plans of two parks, showing the early and late styles (from Hazel Conway, *Public Parks*, pp.14, 15, 27):

- A. Birkenhead Park in 1845.
- B. Abbey Park, Leicester, in 1880.

14. Formal planting in parks:

- A. The opening of the Crystal Palace at Sydenham from a lithograph of 1854, showing the water gardens and terraces laid out below the palace (Brent Elliott, *Victorian Gardens*, p. 117).
- B. Regent's Park, London, planted with bulbs, from a Carters' Seeds catalogue (Jennifer Davies, *The Victorian Flower Garden*, p. 21).

15. A photograph of a Victorian cottage garden, taken in about 1888 (from Brian Coe, *A Victorian Country Album*, p. 37).

16. The Hackney and Stoke Newington Chrysanthemum Society's Exhibition, from the *Gardener's Magazine*, 25 November 1876.

17. Loudon's *Gardener's Magazine*, July 1838, in small book format.

18. The changing face of the *Gardeners' Chronicle*:

- A. The front page, 4 June 1842. The price was sixpence.
- B. The front page, 8 April 1876. The price was reduced to fivepence, and most of the advertisements and articles relate to flowers.
- C. The front page, 22 January 1898. The title is now ornate and the price is reduced again to threepence.
- D. One of the main attractions of the *Gardeners' Chronicle*: part of the Situations Wanted and Situations Vacant sections.

19. *The Cottage Gardener* and its descendant, the *Journal of Horticulture*:

- A. *The Cottage Gardener and Country Gentleman's Companion*, 10 July 1855. It was a smaller size than the *Gardeners' Chronicle*.
- B. A page from the *Journal of Horticulture*, 16 August 1883. By this date it was in separate sections, following the *Garden*.

20. *The Garden*, 31 August 1872, part of the first page of The Indoor Garden section.

21. *The Gardener's Magazine*, 12 June 1875, part of the editorial page.

22. The smallest periodical of all, *Gossip of the Garden*: title page of the bound volume for 1859.

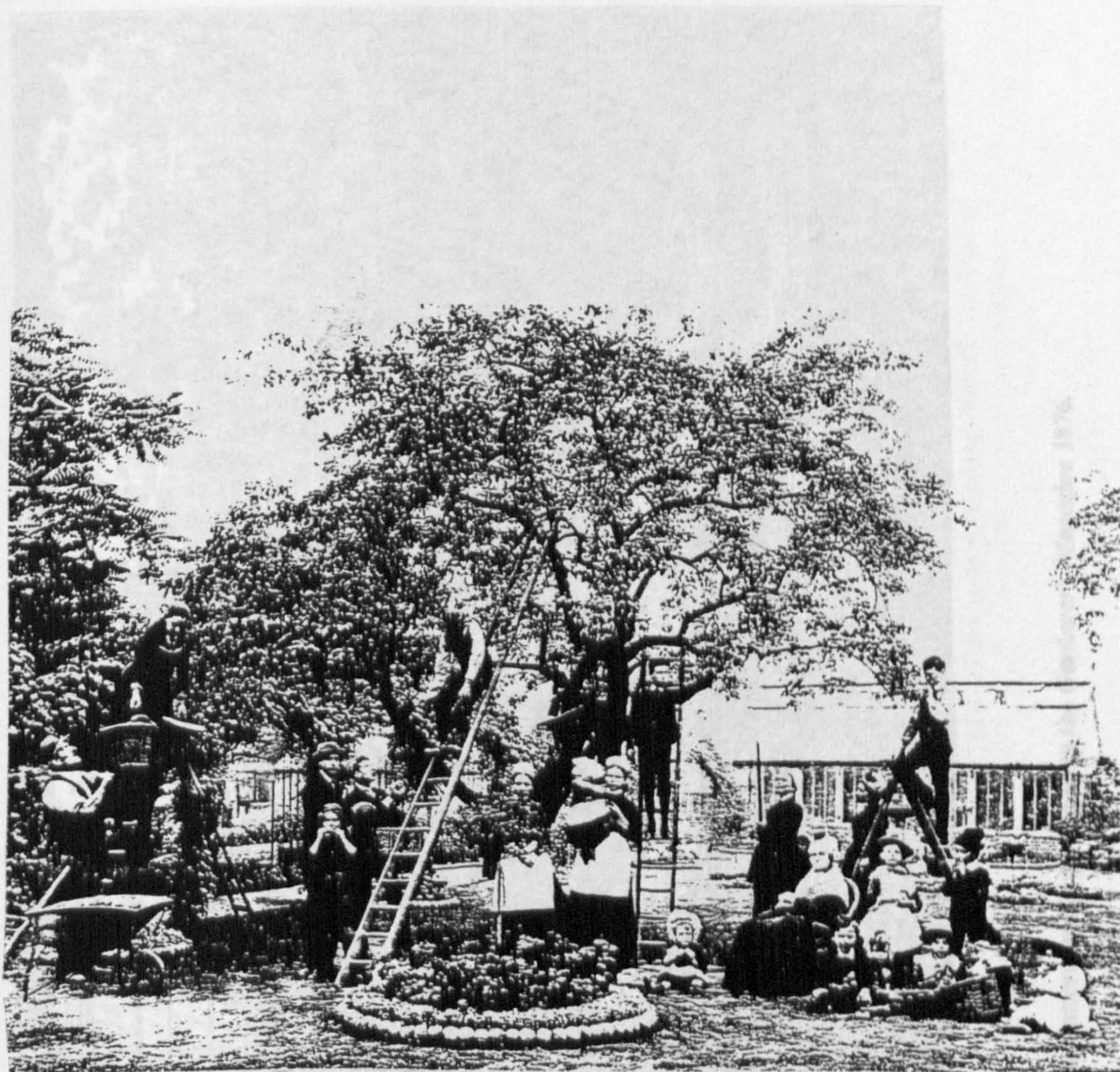
23. *The Floral World*:

- A. Fingerpost: a section for the amateur consumer, based on Shirley Hibberd's own trials of plants.
- B. *The Floral World* May 1868, with a feature on a town garden.

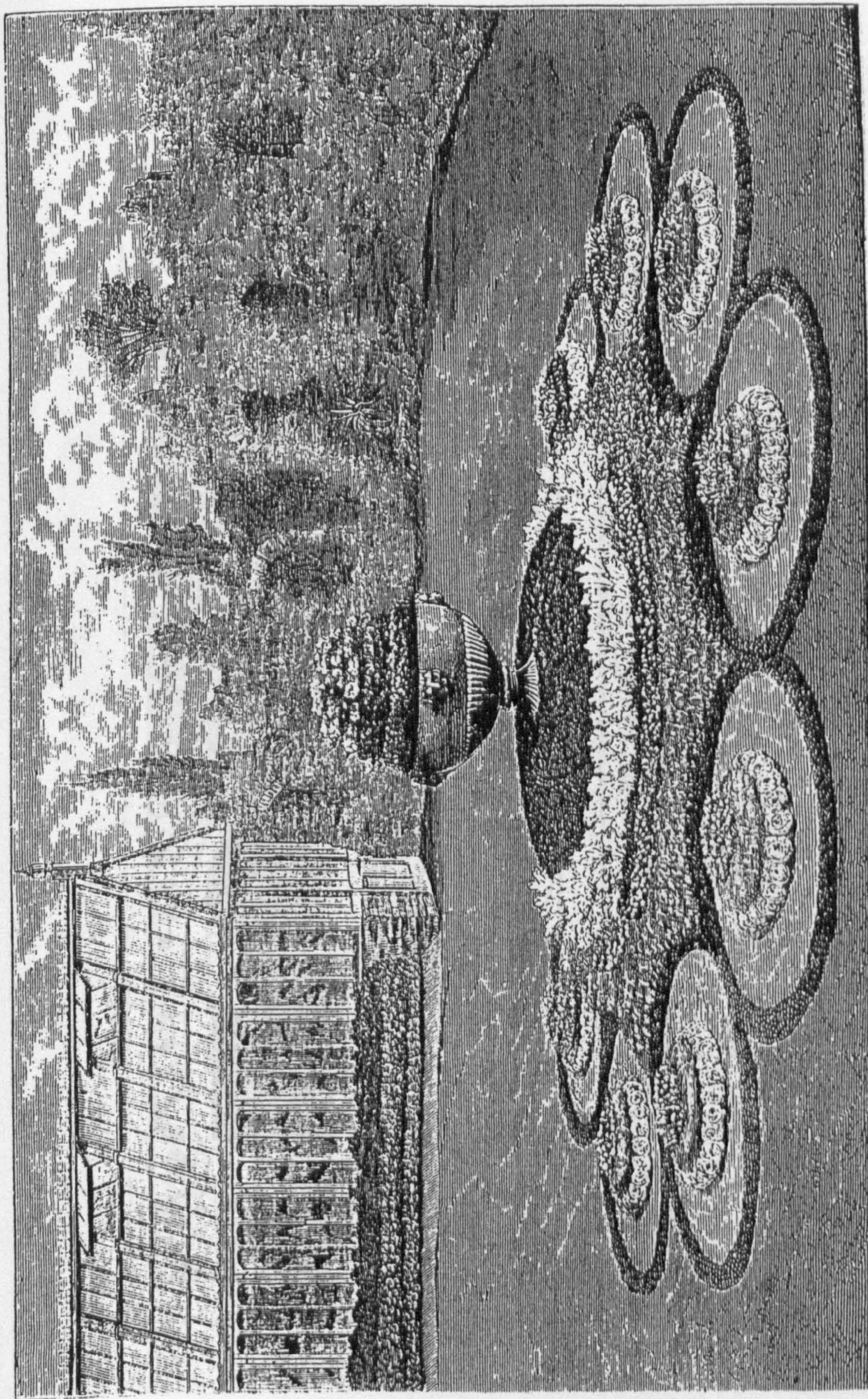
24. *Gardening Illustrated*, 20 August 1881, a cheaper paper with a different format from the *Garden*.

Appendix 3 (continued).

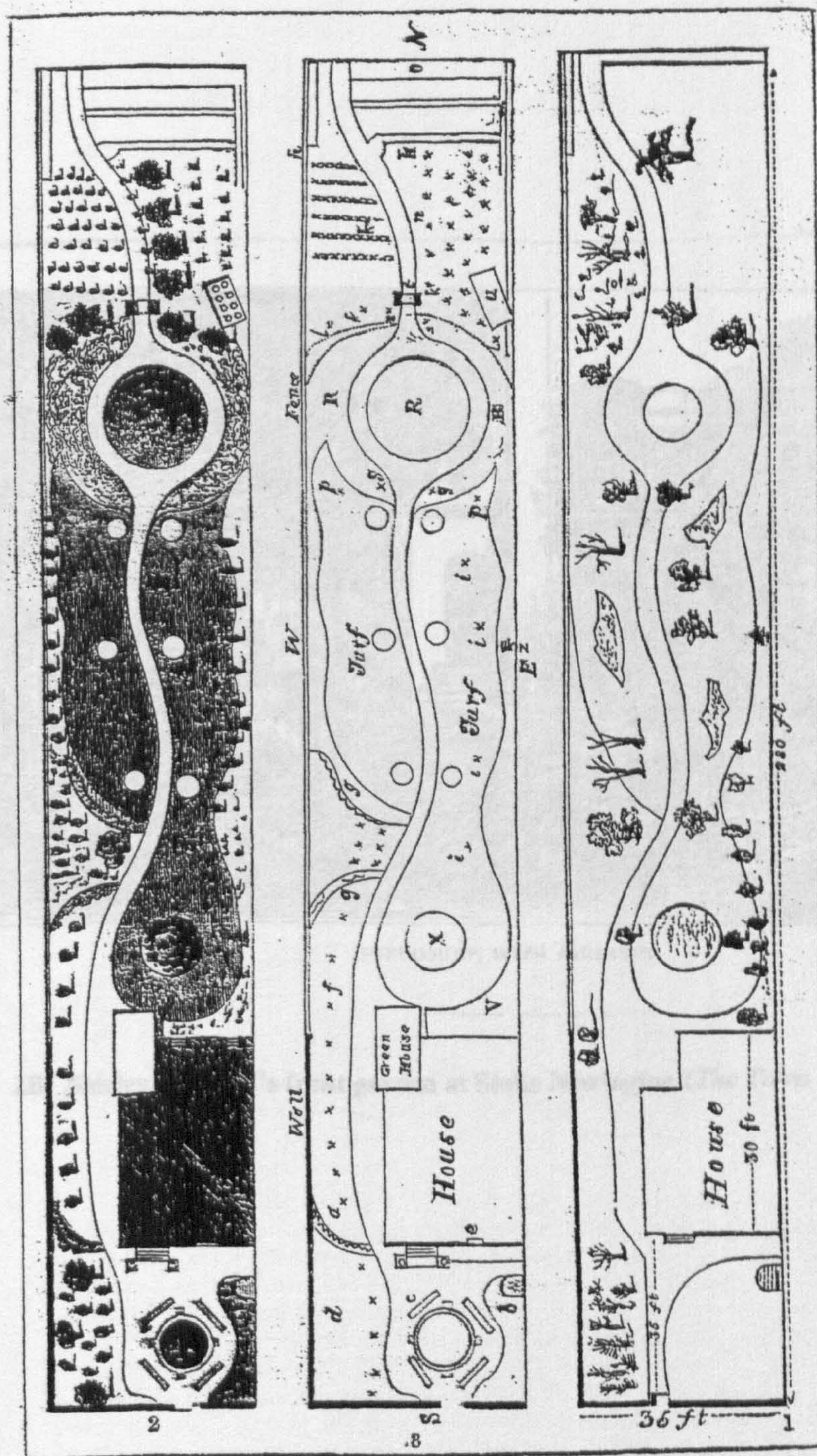
Section (ii) Illustrations.



1A. The Butters family in their garden in King Edward's Road, Hackney, in the late nineteenth century.



1B. The Butters family garden from the *Gardener's Magazine* 1876.



2A. Shirley Hibberd's garden at Stoke Newington in 1858 (from the *Floral World*). The bottom plan shows the garden as he found it; the top and middle plans show the work he would do.

3. Plan of John Loudon's house and garden, Bayswater, 1838.

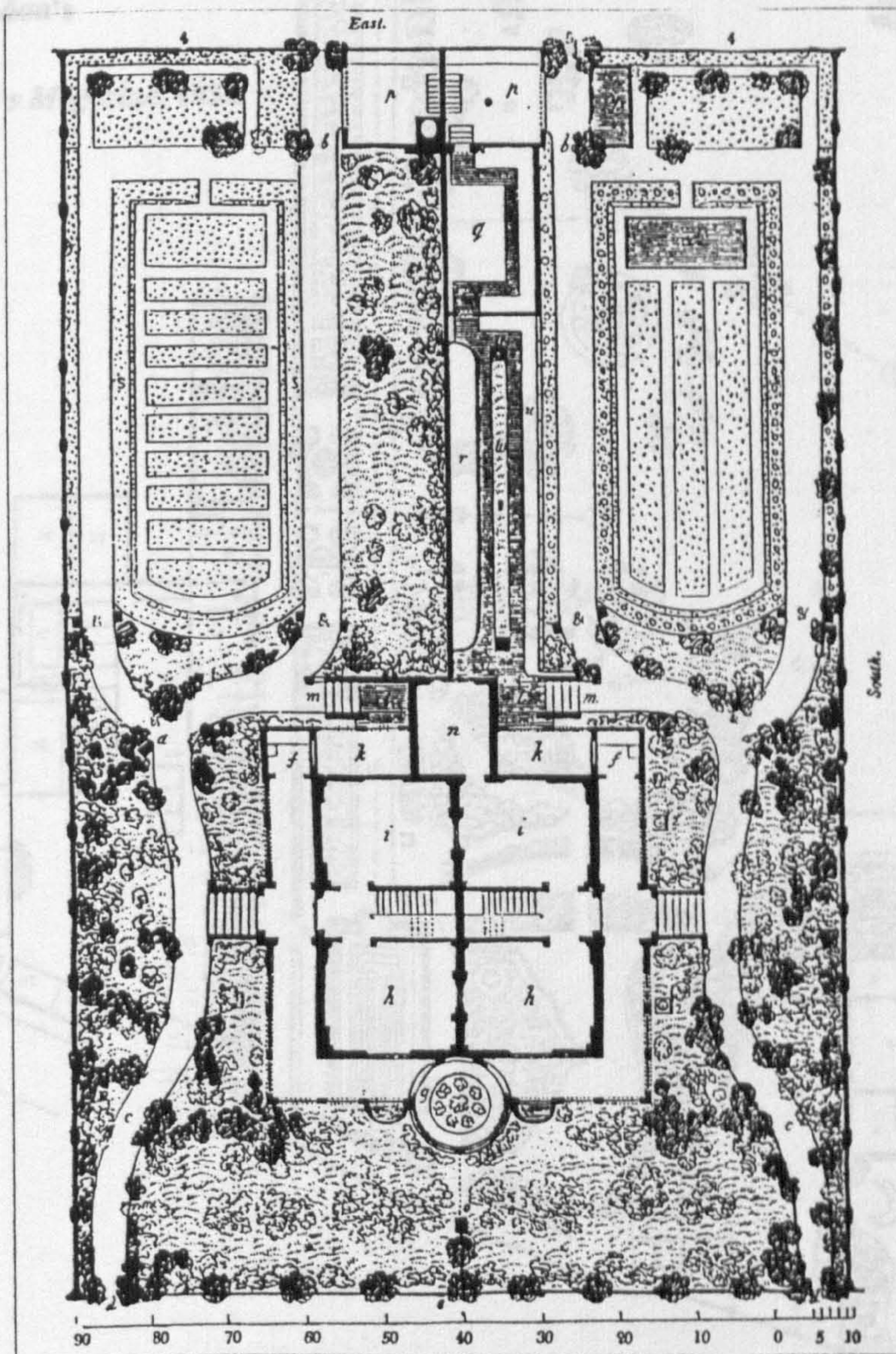


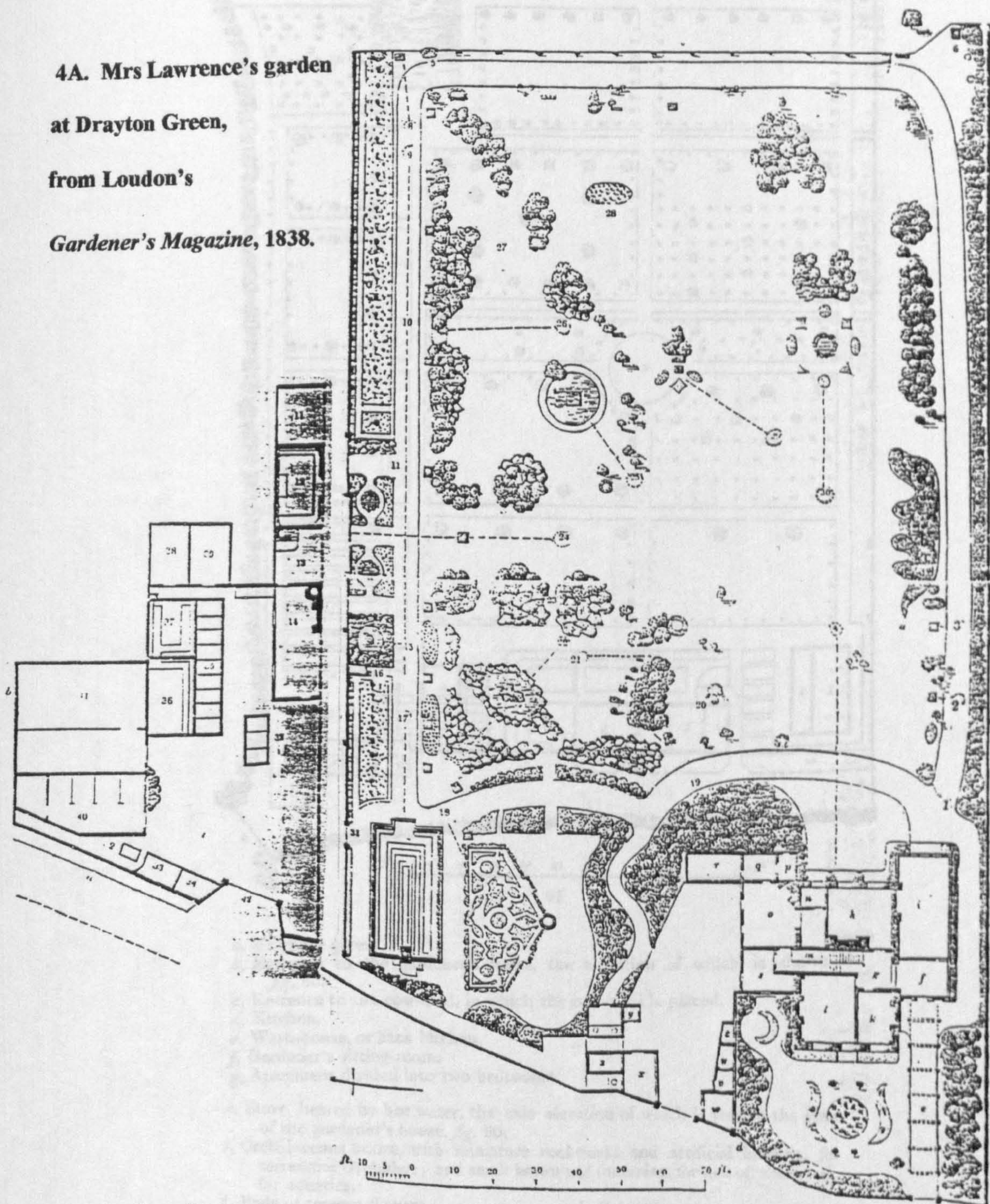
PLATE 27 John Claudius Loudon's layout plan for a double detached villa and gardens, illustrated in *The Suburban Gardener and Villa Companion*, 1838 and built as nos. 3 and 5 Porchester Terrace, Bayswater, London. No. 3, the right-hand house, was the home and office for John and Jane Loudon, no. 5 was tenanted, and the Loudons managed both gardens: the street gates (d) gave onto paths (c) through tunnels of trees (walnut, pear, cherry, lilac) and shrubs (laurels, laburnum, magnolia); the houses shared a conservatory (g) and were surrounded by a wide sitting verandah (f); (h) is the dining-room, (i) the library and (k) the grating which lights the basement kitchen; (n) the office of the *Gardener's Magazine*; the gardens represent alternate designs for working beds of vegetables and flowers, (q) and (r) are glasshouses, and (p) the boiler and tool houses. A landmark of small garden design where Loudon demonstrated that a 50 foot frontage did not deny the garden horticultural variety. The houses survive but not the gardens. (see pages 117-118)

4A. Mrs Lawrence's garden

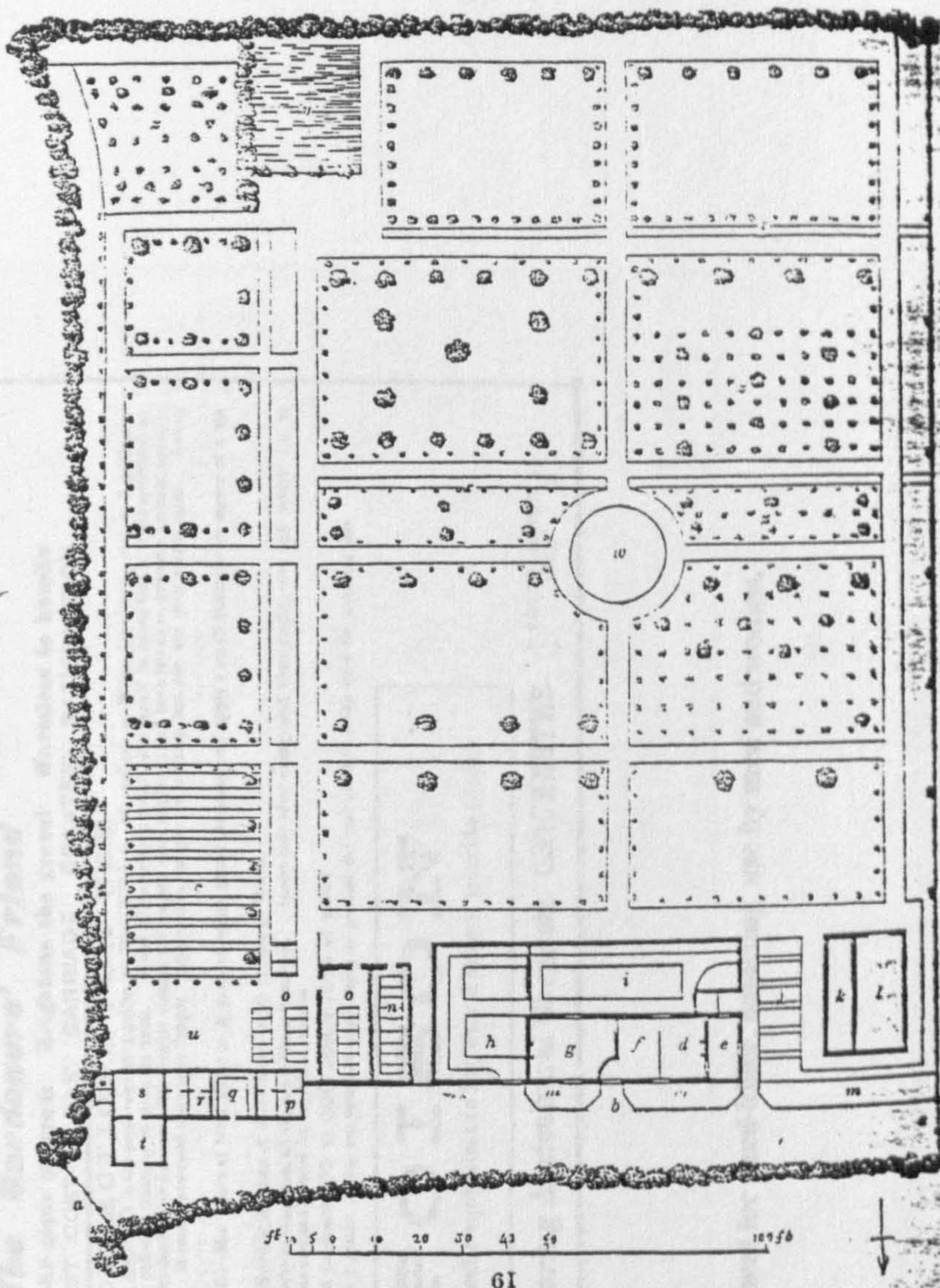
at Drayton Green,

from Loudon's

Gardener's Magazine, 1838.



- a*, Grounds of an adjoining villa.
b b, Grass fields, occupied by a farmer.
c, Grass field, belonging to Colonel Sir James Limond, separated from the lawn by a sunk wall and ditch, surmounted by a slight fence formed of four horizontal rods of iron wire.
d d, Village lane, leading on the right to the London road, and on the left to Perrivale, Greenford, and Harrow.
e, Entrance to the house under a covered way; at the end of which, on each side of the hall door, is a niche, with a statue.
f, Entrance lobby.
g, Hall and staircase.
h, Drawingroom, opening under a veranda to the lawn.
i, Dining-room, opening into the garden walk.
k, Mrs. Lawrence's boudoir.
l, Breakfast-room, one of the windows opening to the front garden, which is ornamented with a border, and beds of low-growing peat-earth shrubs, intermixed with spring-flowering bulbs and standard roses.
m, Store closet under the staircase.
n, French wine cellar, entered through the ale and spirit cellar; from which there are stairs leading to the wine-cellar below.
o, Kitchen.
p, Butler's pantry.
q, Back kitchen, serving also as a scullery to the dairy.
r, Dairy.
s, Housekeeper's room.
t, Dust-bin.
u, Cinder-bin.
v, Bin for refuse which cannot be burned or turned into manure.
w, Coal-house.
x, Lumber-house for bottles, hampers, &c.
y, Knife-house; adjoining which is a privy for the family.
z, Wood-house, adjoining which is a privy for the servants.



- a, Entrance gates.
- b, Entrance to the gardener's house, the elevation of which is shown in fig. 60.
- c, Entrance to the cow-field, in which the cow-shed is placed.
- d, Kitchen.
- e, Wash-house, or back kitchen.
- f, Gardener's sitting-room.
- g, Apartment divided into two bedrooms.
- h, Stove, heated by hot water, the side elevation of which is seen in the view of the gardener's house, fig. 60.
- i, Orchidaceous house, with miniature rockworks and artificial hillocks, for terrestrial Orchideæ; and small basins and fountains, formed of shellwork, for aquatics.
- j, Beds of reserve flowers.
- k, Cold-pit.
- l, Span-roofed green-house.
- m m, Children's gardens.
- n, Situation for a hot-bed, surrounded by a privet hedge, 18 in. high.
- o, Compost and frame ground.
- p, Two pigsties.
- q, Poultry-house, with pigeon-house over. This house has a span roof, with a gable end over the door; and the triangular part of the gable end has 4 rows of holes for the pigeons, the rows having narrow shelves in front for the pigeons to rest on, and an enclosed space behind, 3 ft. in depth, for the nests.
- r, Two other pigsties.
- s, Rabbit-house.
- t, Tool-house, in which, also, the ducks are kept.
- u, Frame-ground.
- v, Asparagus-beds.
- w, Circle of grass where a tent may be fixed, for eating fruit in during the summer season.
- x x, Open drains, the soil of the garden being a retentive clay.
- y, Pond.
- z, Fruit trees and fruit shrubs.

4B. Mrs Lawrence's kitchen garden, from Loudon's *Gardener's Magazine*, 1838.

MIXES 1 TO 50

Telephone No 194 Chichester

Lano-nika

Weed Killer

The Gardeners' Friend

Keeps GRAVEL PATHS &c clear of weeds Brightens the gravel Harmless to handle
LEAST LABOUR LEAST COST LEAST CARRIAGE GREATEST SATISFACTION

DIRECTIONS FOR USE

To destroy WEEDS on GRAVEL WALKS, &c.—Mix in the proportion of 1 gallon of Weed Killer to 50 gallons of Water (or about $\frac{1}{2}$ pint to 3 gallons of Water), and apply with an ordinary watering can in sufficient quantity to reach the roots. Weed Killer being a poison care should be taken that it is not sprinkled on flower beds, borders or any vegetable life that it is not desirous to destroy. Thoroughly cleanse the utensils after applying, and for a few days, domestic animals, poultry, &c., should not be allowed over the ground dressed. If care is exercised there is no danger. Apply when the ground is damp but not wet with recent rains. Sweep up any dead worms, &c.

To destroy DANDELIONS &c., on LAWNS.—Mix 1 part of Weed Killer to 2 parts of water, pierce the roots, and apply a small quantity by means of a tin or bottle with narrow outlet.

To destroy GREEN MOULD &c. on WALLS.—Mix 1 gallon of Weed Killer to 10 gallons of Water.

N.B.—Please note, whenever Weed Killer is used, accidentally or otherwise, all vegetable life is destroyed. Insert cork after using, and when empty, cork and return tin to the proprietors as soon as possible. Tins must on no account be used for any other purpose.

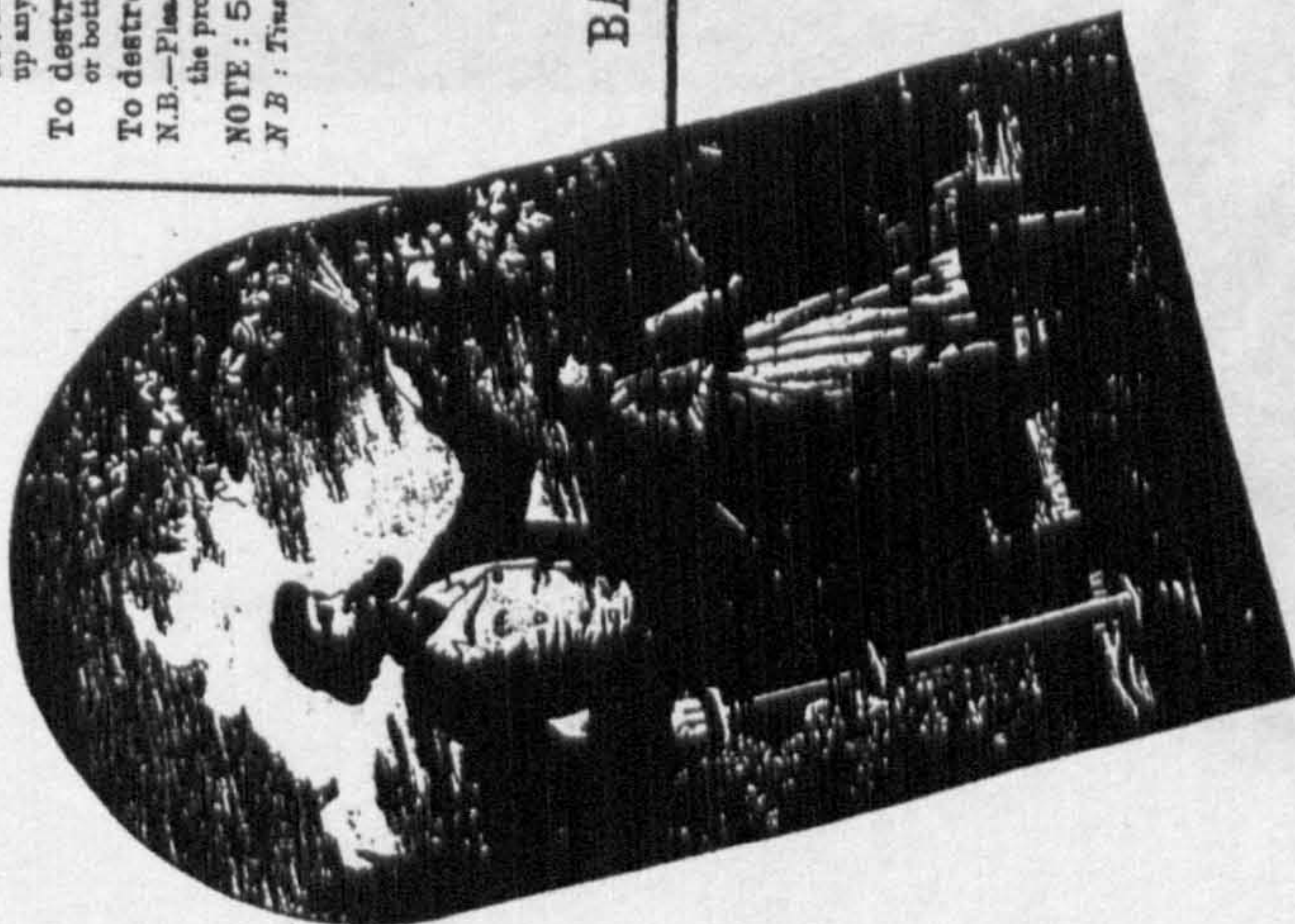
NOTE: 51 gallons of mixed solution is sufficient to dress 150 to 200 square yards of paths

N.B.: Tins are not charged for, but we should esteem it a favour if they are returned when empty to prevent the risk of their being used for anything else

POISON

Sodium Arsenite equivalent to 28% wt/vol arsenic trioxide (As_2O_3)

BAKER & SON Manufacturing Agricultural Chemists CHICHESTER [ESTABLISHED 1858]

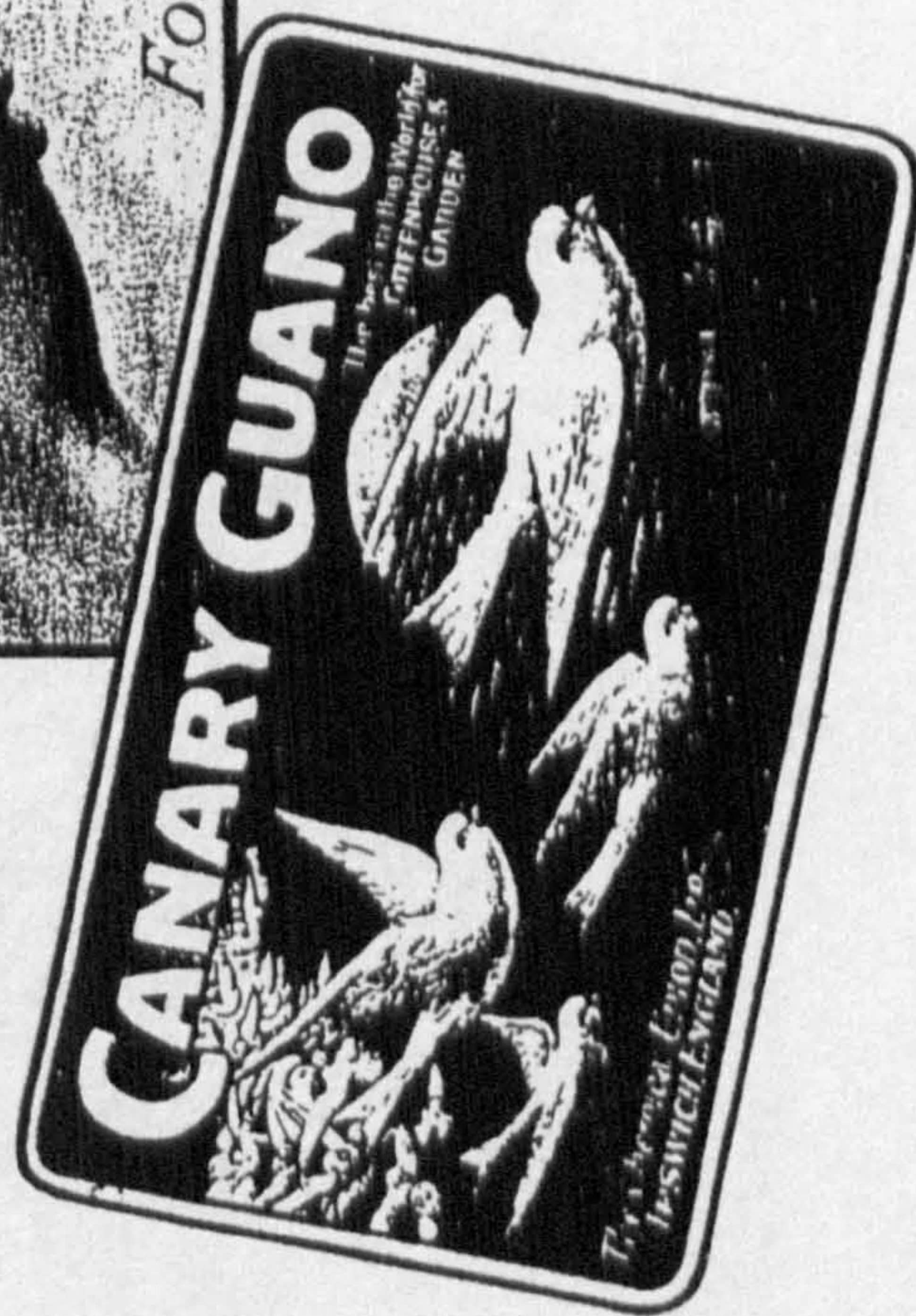


5A. Advertisement for weed-killer, depicting use by men and women.

The Chemical Union, Limited
IPSWICH, England

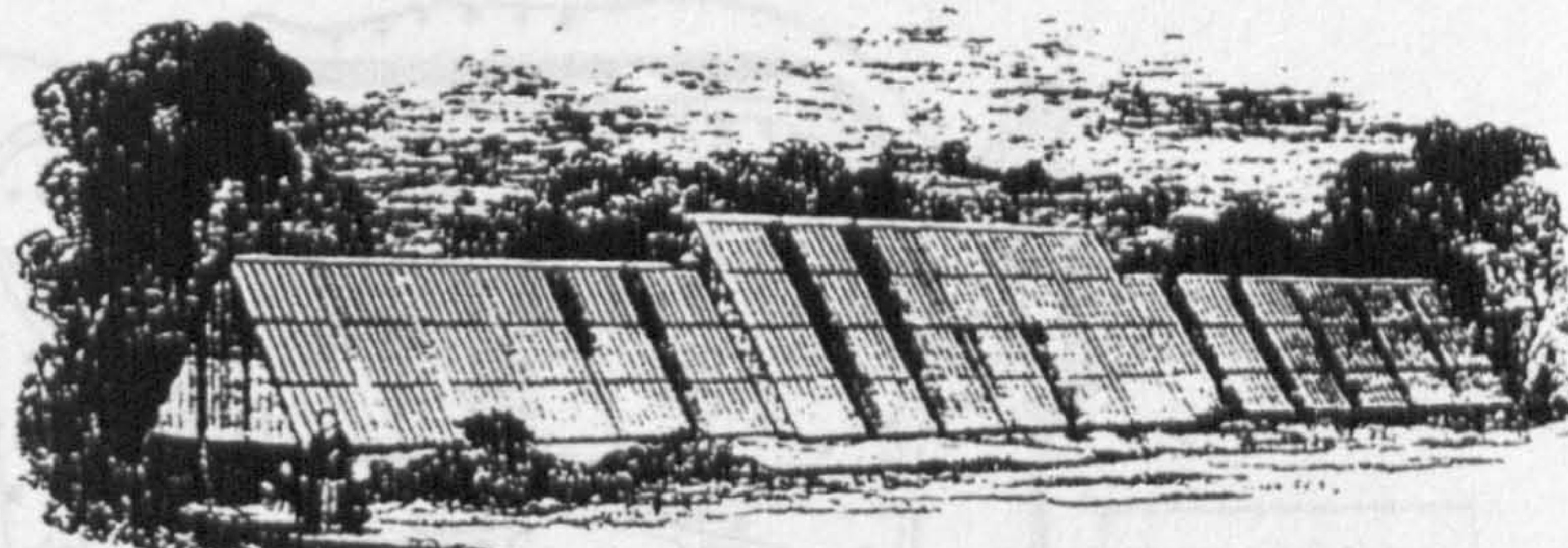
FOR GREENHOUSE AND GARDEN

CANARY GUANO
 THE BEST IN THE WORLD
 FOR GREENHOUSE AND GARDEN



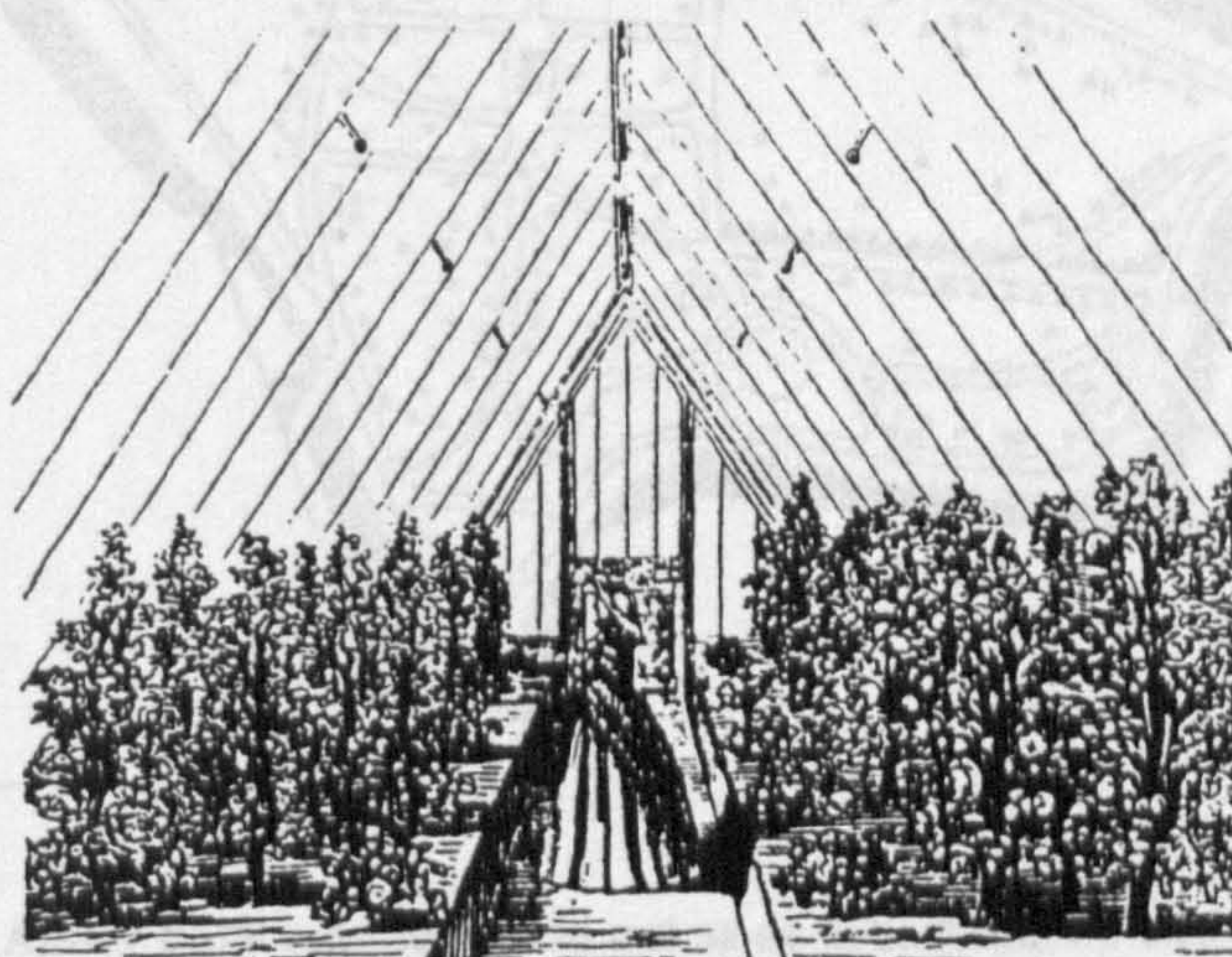
5B. Advertisement for canary guano, claiming it to be the best in the world.

HOTHOUSES FOR THE MILLION.
SAMUEL HEREMAN
DEES TO INFORM THE PUBLIC THAT HE HAS BEEN APPOINTED SOLE AGENT FOR THE MANUFACTURE AND SALE OF
THE NEW PORTABLE AND ECONOMICAL HOTHOUSES,
INVENTED AND PATENTED BY
SIR JOSEPH PAXTON, M.P.



These Buildings are of unparalleled cheapness, and being composed of simple parts, can be erected, removed, or adapted to any Horticultural purpose in a very short time. They are calculated for the culture of all kinds of fruit, vegetables, and plants, and are particularly adapted for the propagation of cuttings, and for raising seedlings, and for forcing early crops.

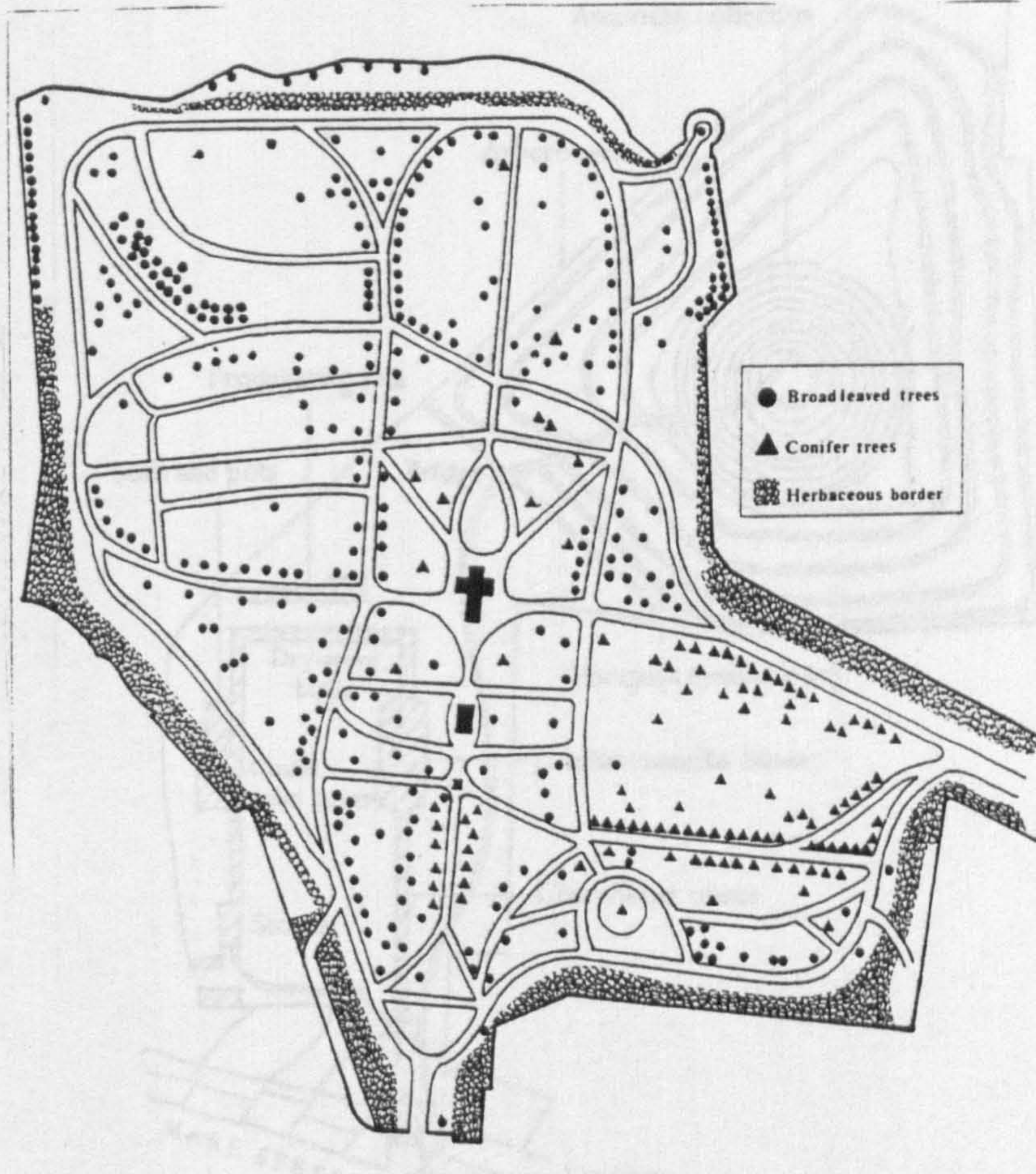
6A. Advertisement for the Paxtonian glasshouse, suitable 'for the million', in the *Gardeners' Chronicle*, 1860.



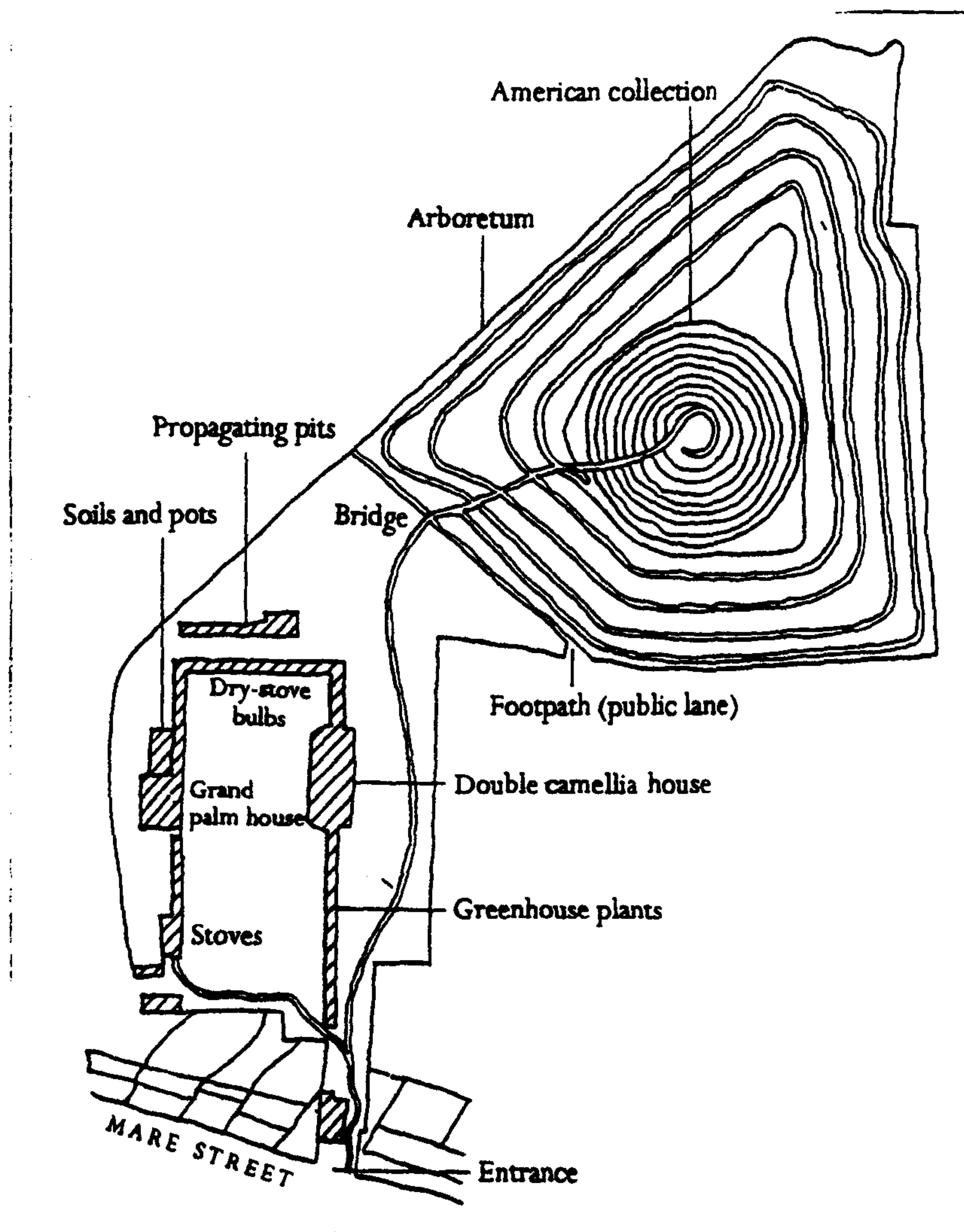
ROSE-HOUSE AT STOKE NEWINGTON.

For the advantage of those readers who do not possess the "Rose Book" (N.B. No garden is complete without the "Rose Book"), we subjoin a sketch of the Paxtonian rose-house at Stoke Newington, which was built expressly for tea-roses, and proved one of the most complete among our many successes.

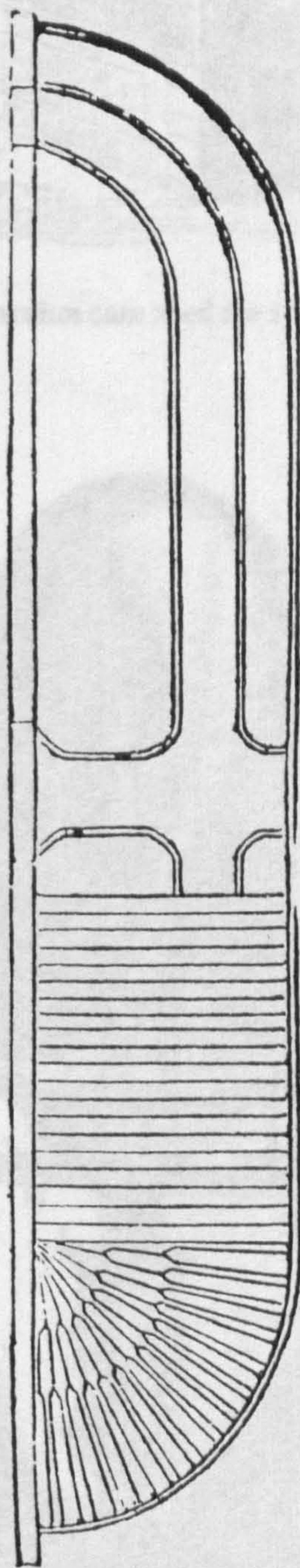
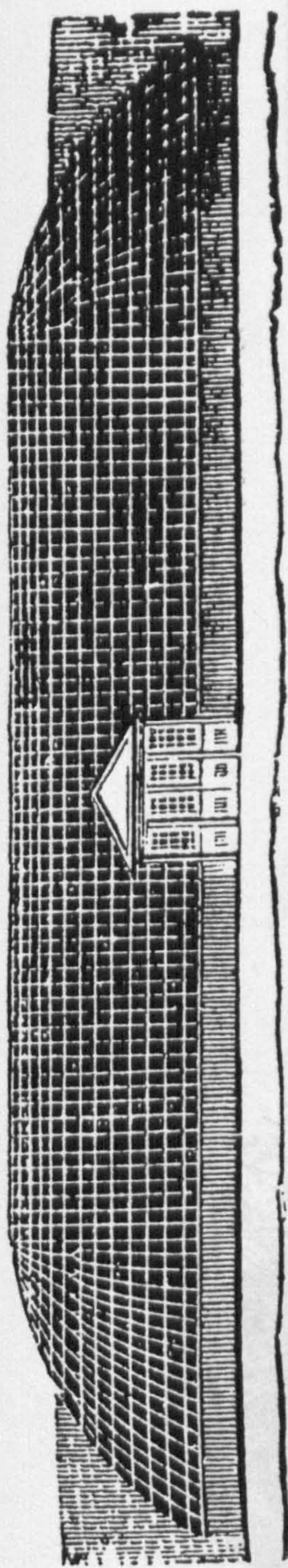
6B. Shirley Hibberd's illustration of his own Paxtonian glasshouse (in the *Floral World*).



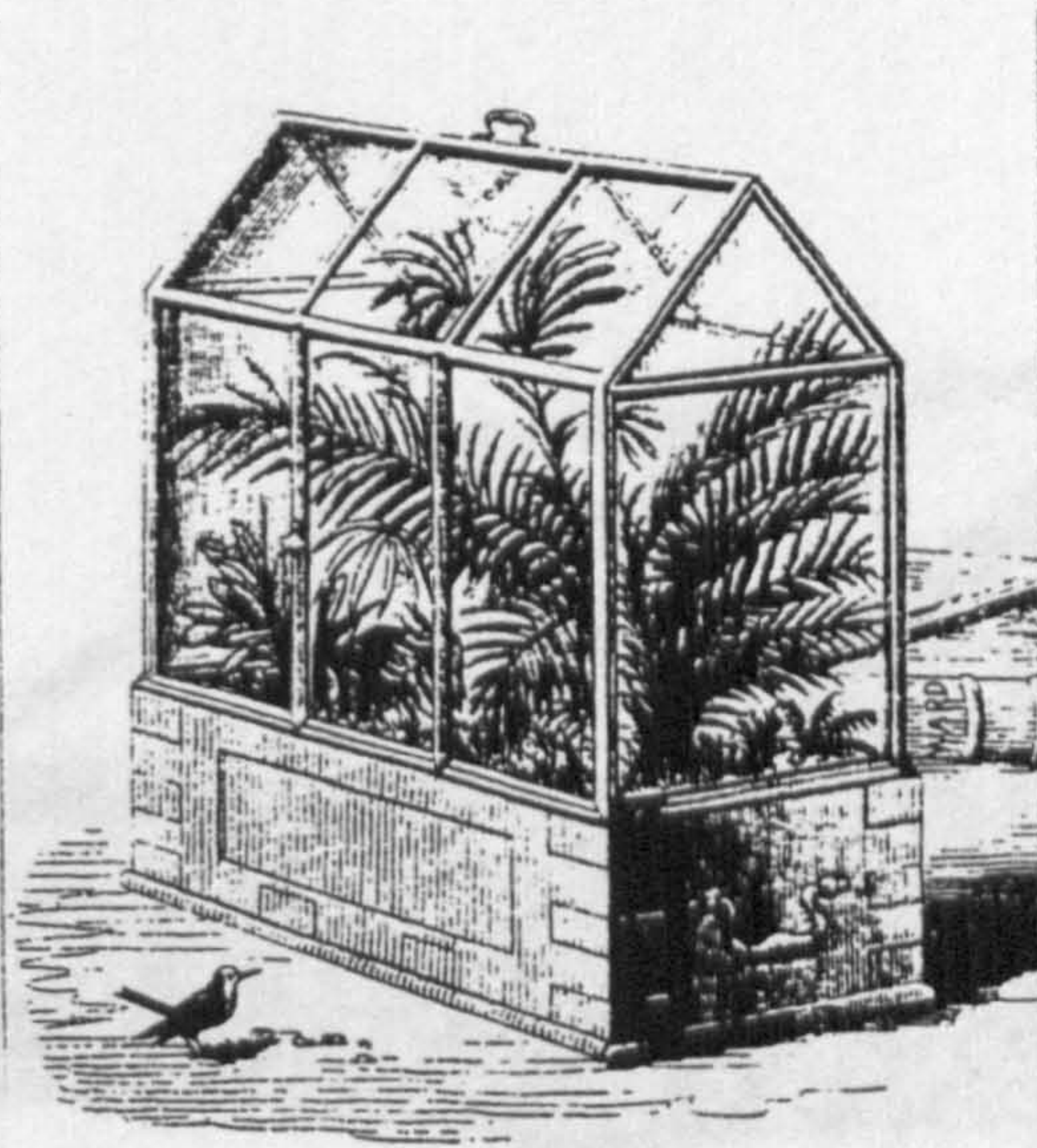
7A. Abney Park cemetery, laid out as an arboretum by Loddiges' nursery in the 1840s.



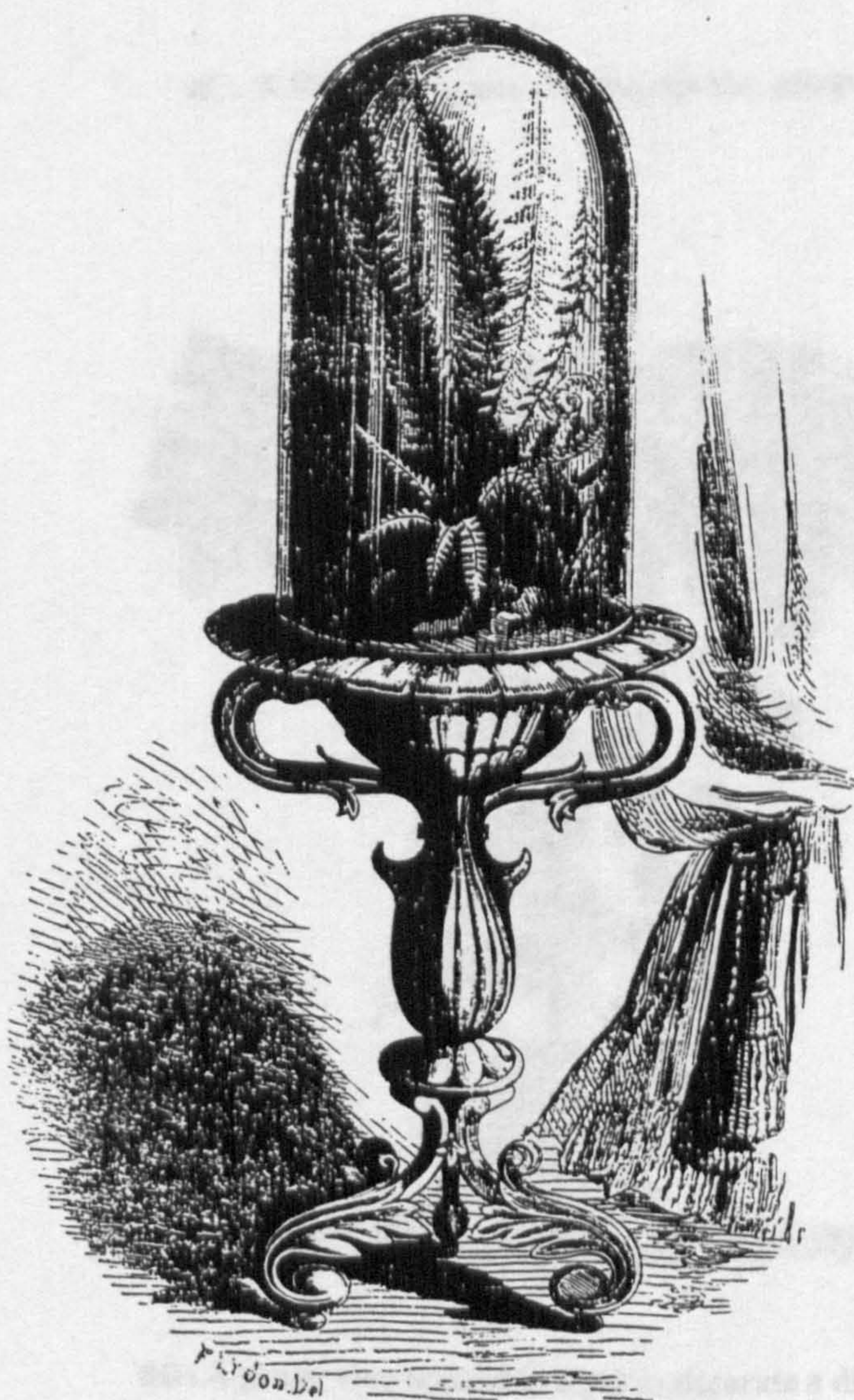
**7B. Plan of Loddiges' own nursery and arboretum in Hackney
in the 1840s and 50s.**



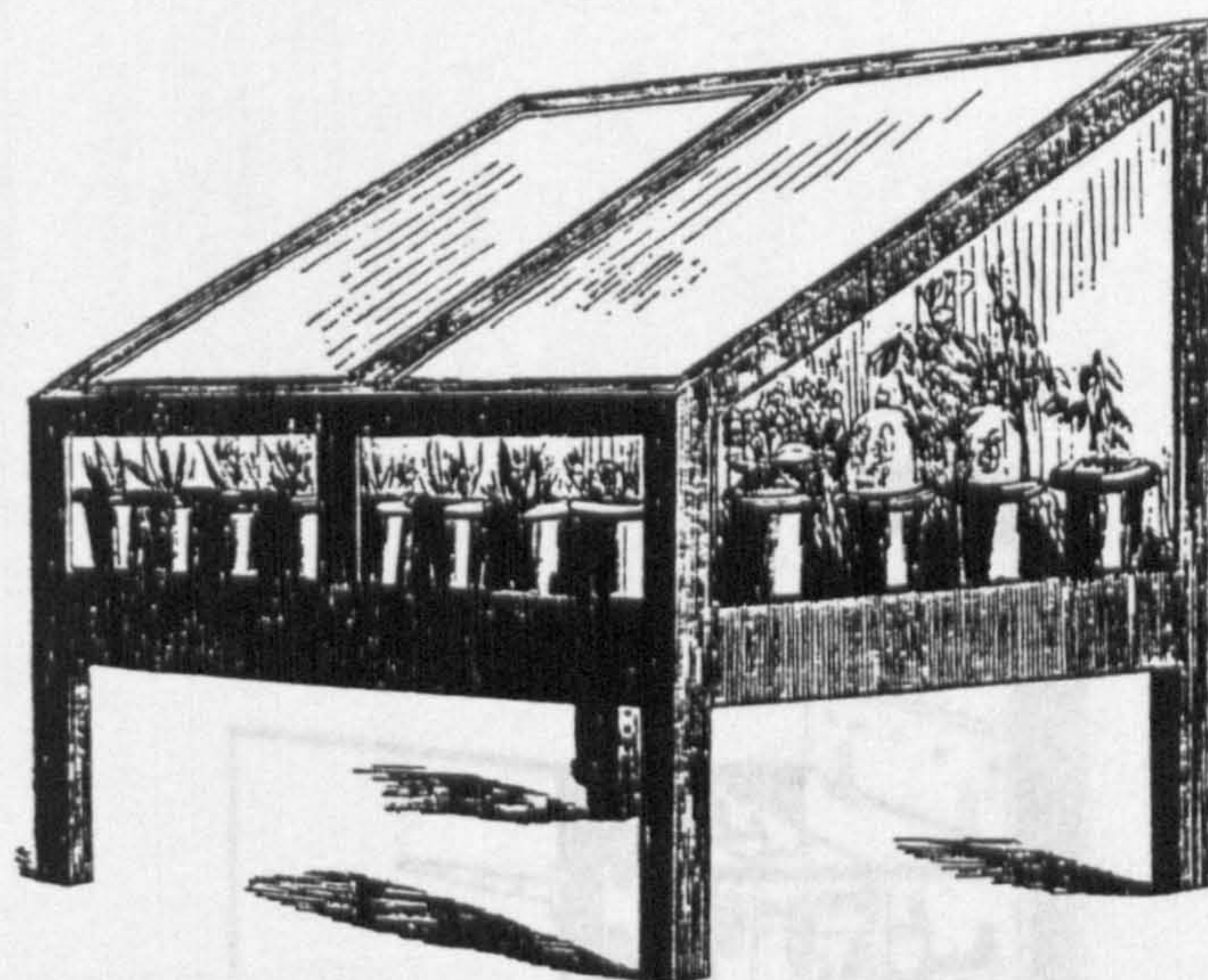
7C. Loddiges Camellia House, designed by John Loudon, showing the typical shape of early glasshouses before sheet glass was available.



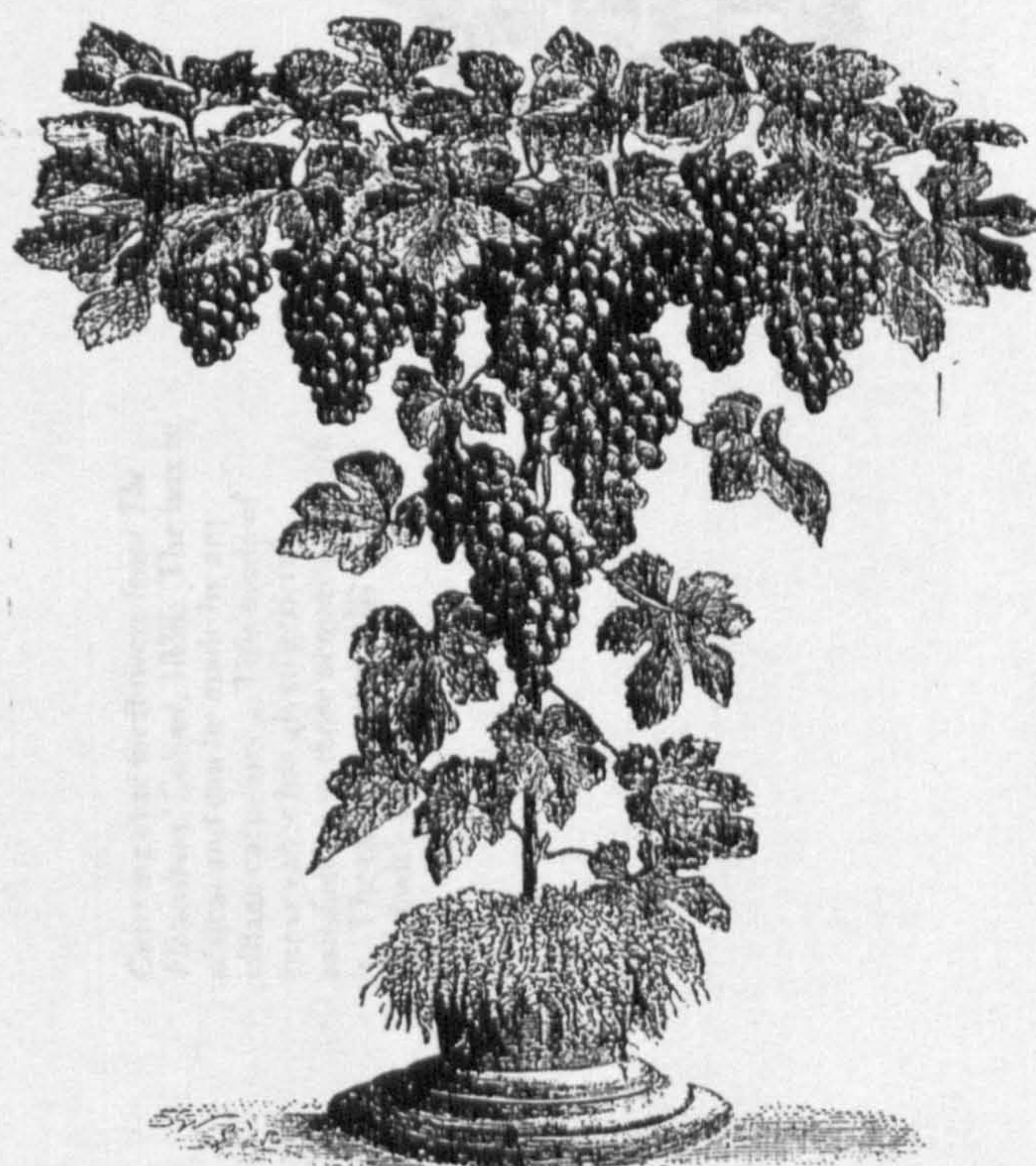
8A. A Wardian case used for transporting plants.



8B. A decorative Wardian case.

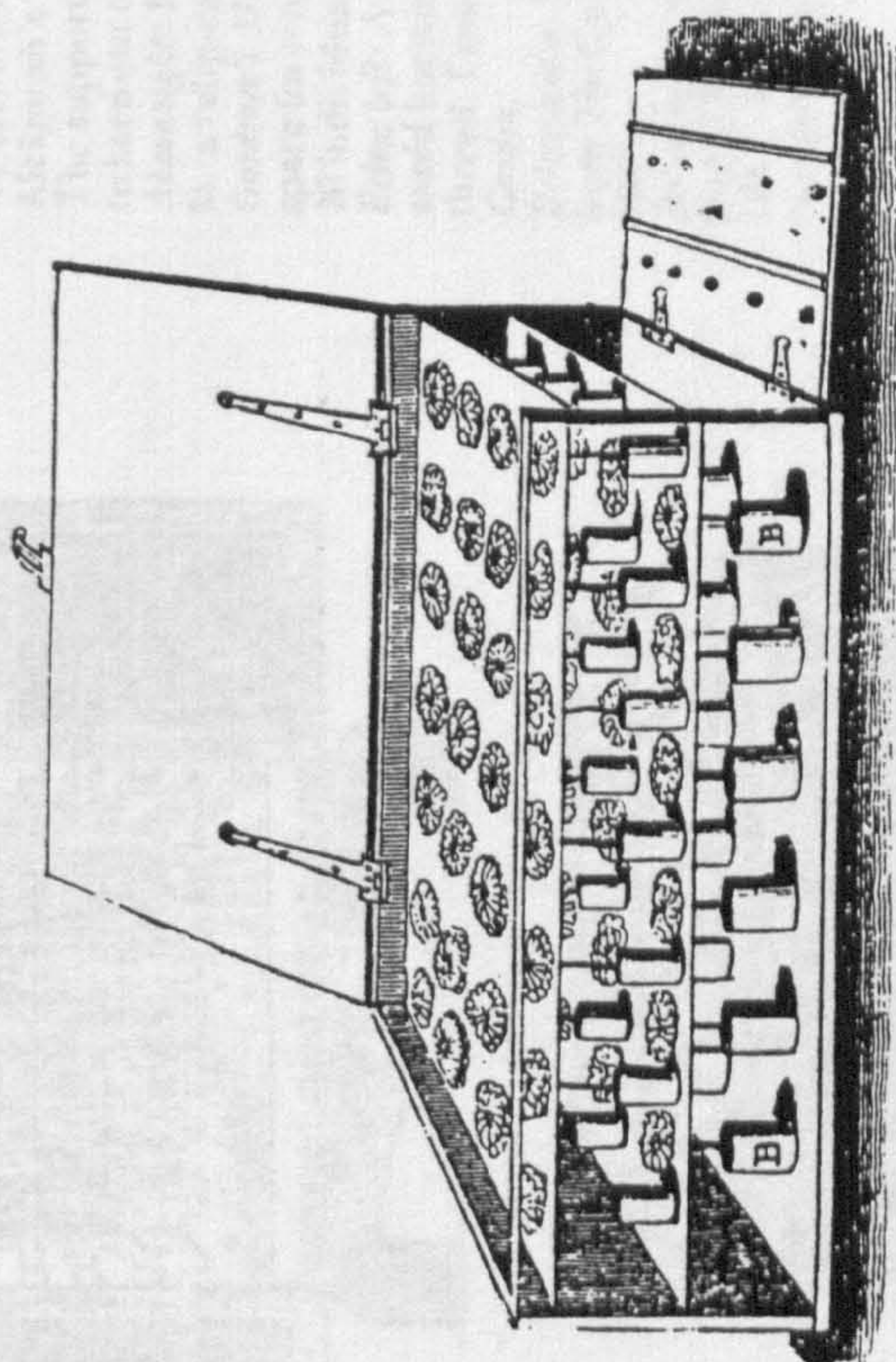


8C. A Waltonian case, for propagating plants.



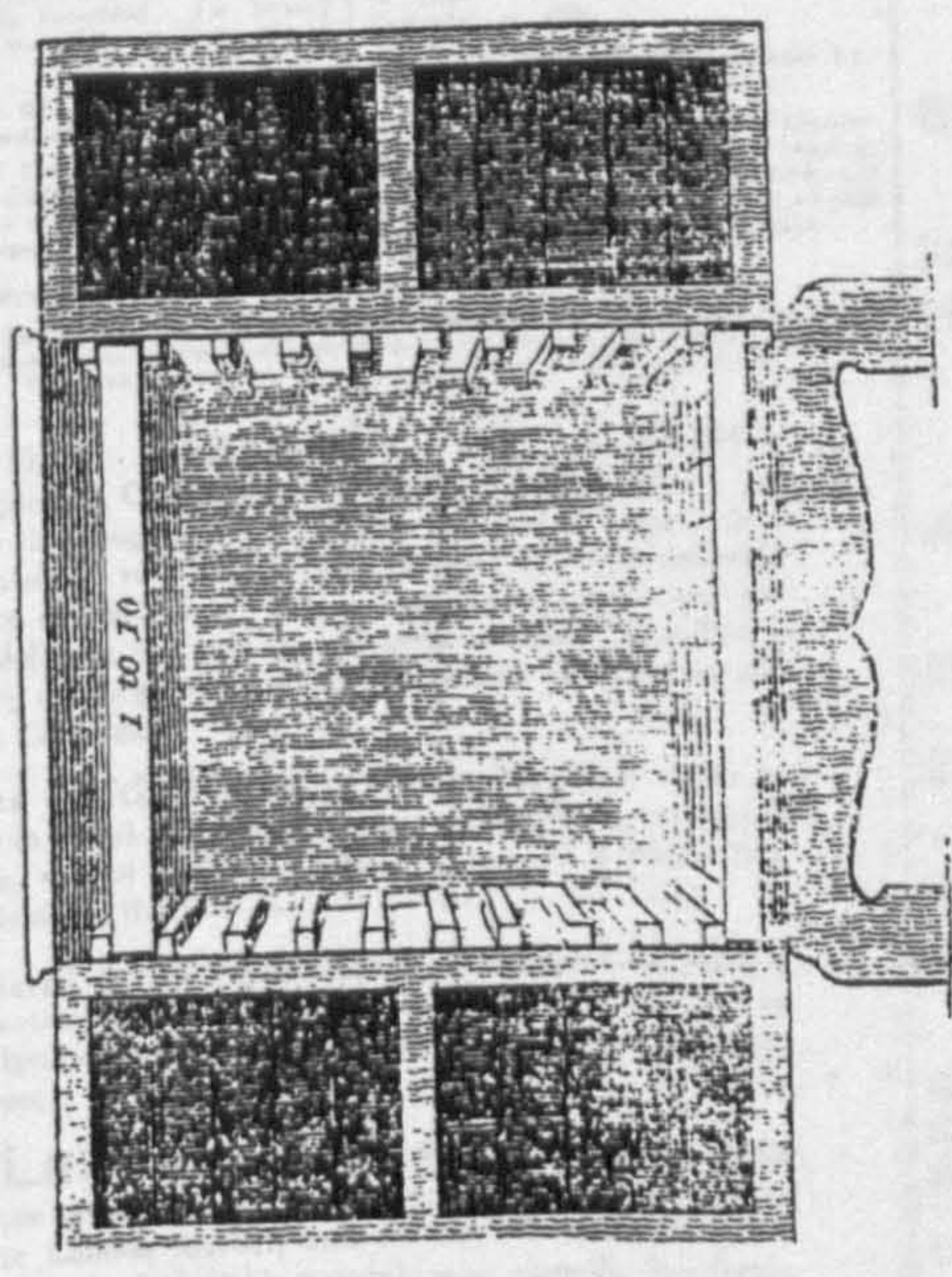
8D. A grape vine trained in a pot to decorate a dining table.

Carrying case for flowers from *The Floricultural Cabinet*, 1836: 'The box is of deal and can be made by any village carpenter... This mode of conveyance has given general satisfaction to those acquainted with it.' The cylinders of tin (B) were filled with moist sand.



9A. Equipment used by florists included a carrying case for cut flowers.

9B. Various items of florists' equipment used for growing carnations and tulips.



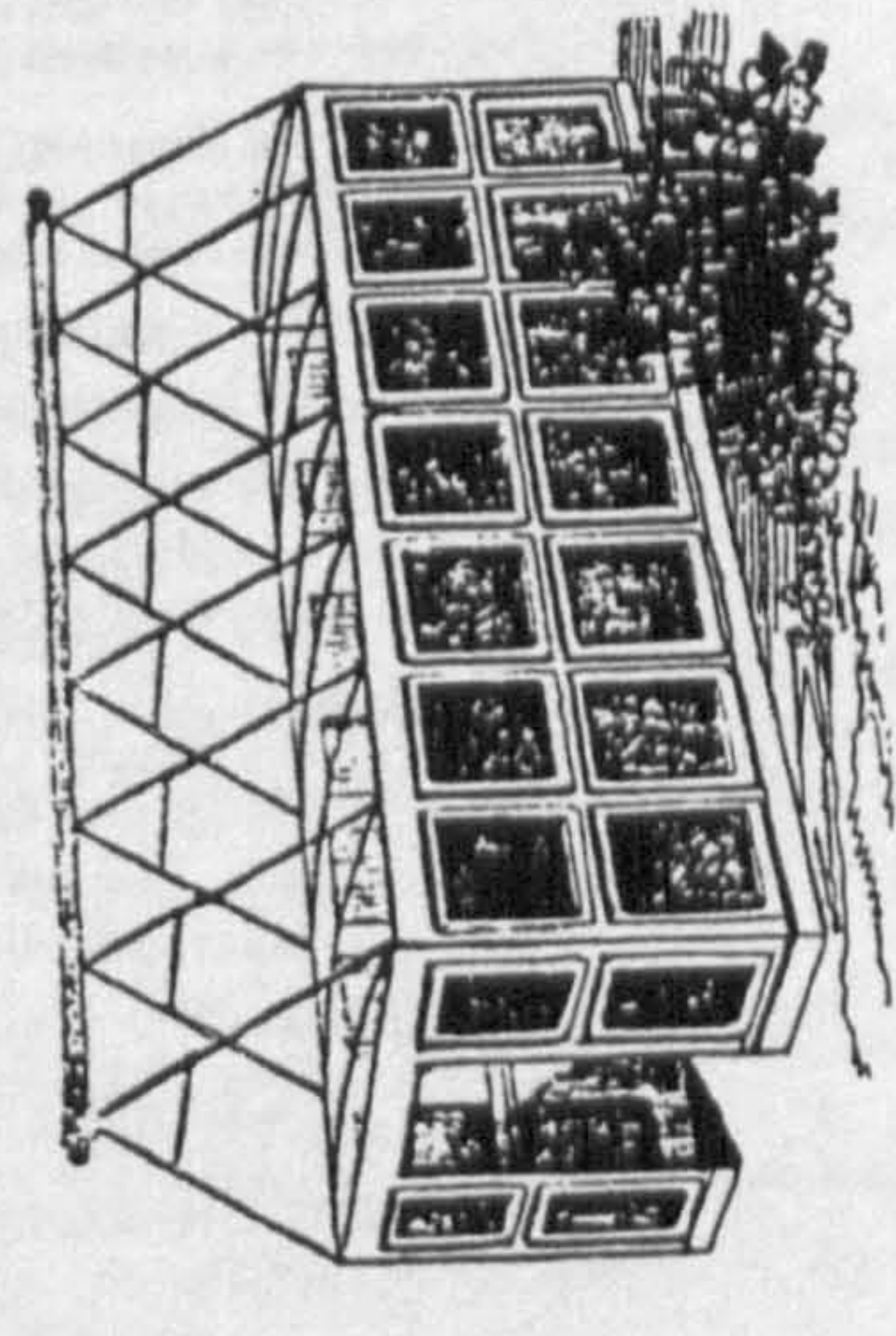
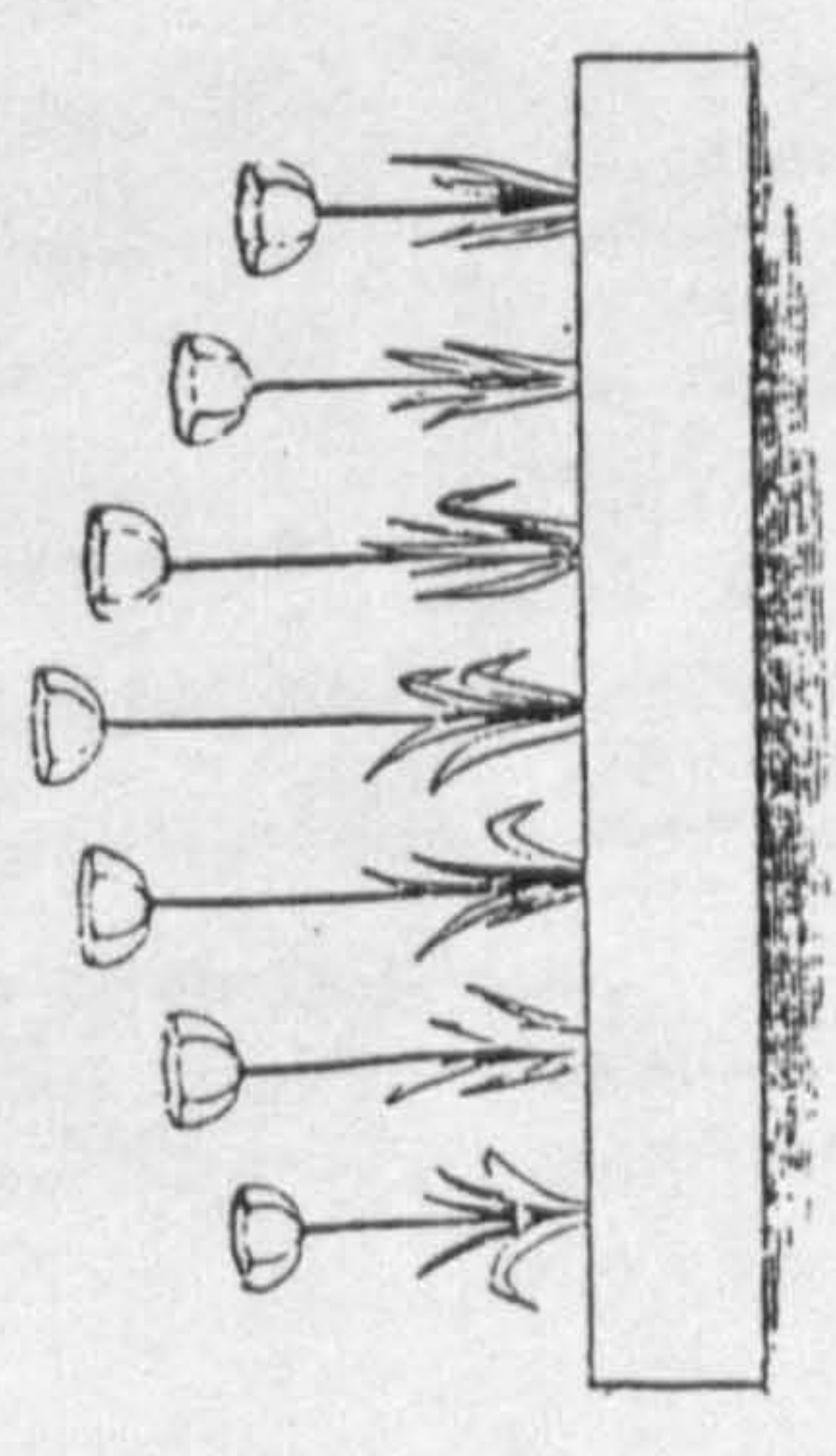
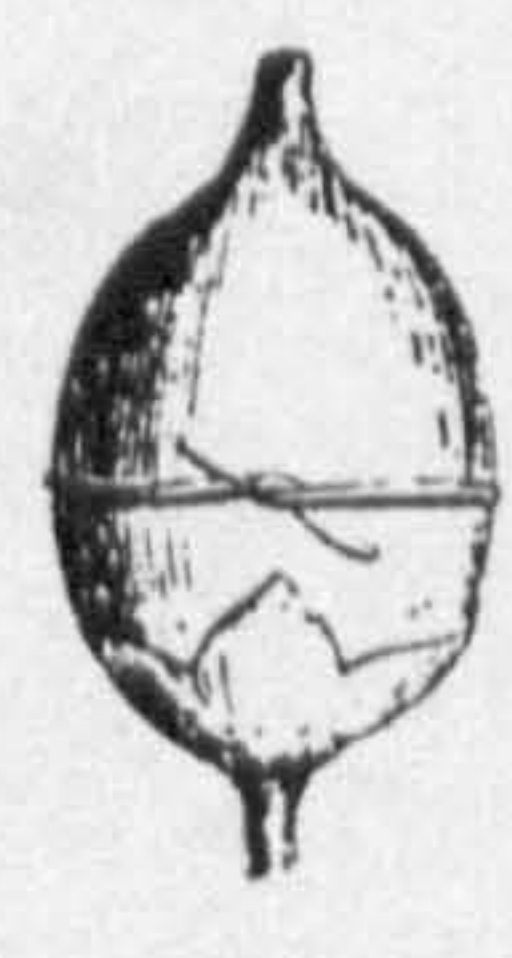
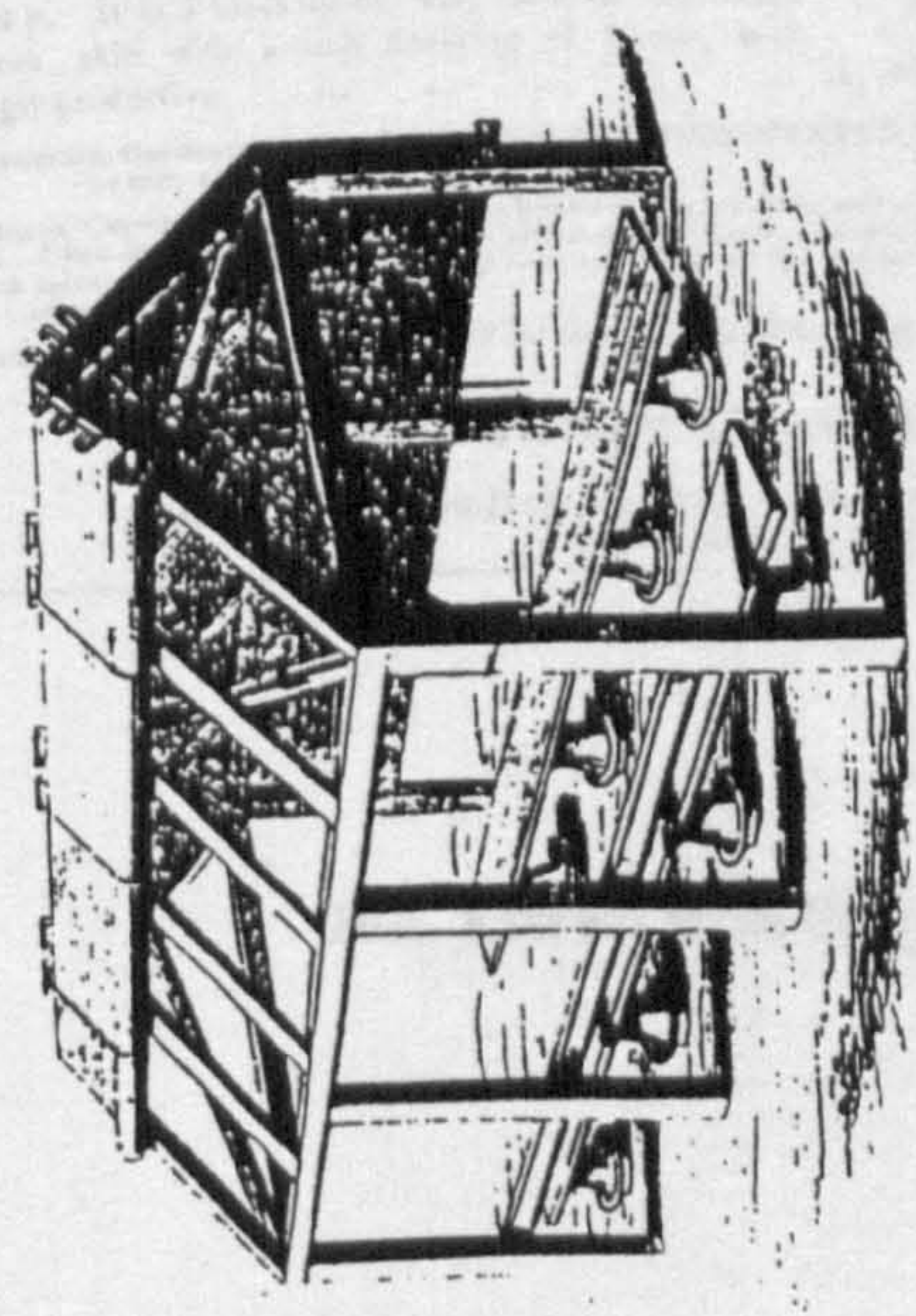
Above left: Covered blooming-stage for carnations, from Charles McIntosh's *The Flower Garden*, 1838. The supports rest in pans of water to keep out earwigs.

Above right: Mr H. Groom's design for a tulip-case, submitted to *The Gardener's Magazine*, 1827; there is space for ten drawers, each holding 70 individual bulbs.

Below left: A carnation bud cut to avoid bursting, and one tied with thread. From McIntosh's *The Flower Garden*.

Below centre: Section of a tulip bed, from *The Gardener and Practical Florist*, 1843.

Below right: Shelter for a tulip bed from *The Gardener and Practical Florist*, 1843; the framework could be covered with canvas or matting.



A Discount of 5 per cent. (1s. in the £) allowed for Cash Payments.

Frame Cucumber.

(*Cucumis sativus*.) German, Gurke.—French, Concombre.—Russian, Oryperz.

Sutton's Duke of Connaught.

This remarkably handsome Cucumber, of our own introduction, is the finest white-spined variety known. It is perfectly level, from 22 to 26 inches in length, with a bright green skin, well covered with bloom, spine scarcely discernible, and the fruit very little ribbed. Its great recommendation, however, is its wonderfully small handle, not more than 1 to 1 inch in length. This gives it a beauty of form not possessed by any other Cucumber, and shows its decided superiority for exhibition and table purposes. It is remarkably productive and of superior flavour. (See illustration, page 14.) ... 1s. 6d. and 2 6

From SHIRLEY HIBBERD, Esq.
"The Cucumber 'Duke of Connaught' is of even width from the handle to the nose, as straight as an arrow, with glossy green skin, and distinct, though not conspicuous, white spines. It is quite tender, and deliciously flavoured. For beauty and quality I am quite sure it cannot be surpassed."

From Mr. W. TILLERY, Gardener to His Grace the Duke of Portland.
"Duke of Connaught" is a first-rate white-spined Cucumber, of good length and shape for exhibition. It is also of very good flavour, and with little waste."

From the 'GARDENERS' MAGAZINE, Feb. 1, 1879.
"Sutton's 'Duke of Connaught' is a model in point of form, attains an average length of 24 inches; the flavour is remarkably good, and the plant is comparatively hardy and a free bearer. It is a capital variety both for exhibition and general culture."

Sutton's Marquis of Lorne.

This splendid Cucumber was originally introduced by us, and is the longest variety grown. It has a white spine, short neck, is very straight and prolific, with a remarkable absence of seed, and when not allowed to grow too old is of delicious flavour. It has been awarded First Prizes at many of the great Horticultural Shows in England and on the Continent ... 1 6

Tender and True, a fine variety, from 24 to 30 inches in length; handsome in shape and colour, very small handle, and of excellent flavour. Awarded a First-Class Certificate by the R.H.S. ... 1 6

Cuthbert's Perfection, a splendid Cucumber, free bearing, and of strong constitution; length 20 to 25 inches; recommended for exhibition, market, and general purposes ... 1 6

The London Market. This fine variety has been placed in our hands by one of the leading growers for the London market, and we can with confidence recommend it. It is a black-spine, very smooth, fine form, dark green skin with a rich covering of bloom, and exceedingly productive ... 1 6

From Mr. A. Ingram, Gardener to His Grace the Duke of NORTHUMBERLAND, Alnwick Castle, Aug. 26, 1879.

"Your new frame Cucumber has been in bearing all the summer; I have still a lot of fruit on it. I find it to be an excellent variety, and the best I know for frame work. It is black spine, sweet, and crisp; a strong grower and a free setter. I consider it just the Cucumber for amateurs."

The above List comprises all the best varieties in cultivation, but other advertised sorts can be supplied at the usual prices.

Sutton's Berkshire Champion.

One of the best and most prolific Cucumbers for ordinary frame cultivation, of good form, from 18 to 24 inches in length, and of excellent flavour ... 1s. and 1 6

From the 'GARDENERS' MAGAZINE'

"For productiveness and high quality I have not met with a Cucumber that can equal Sutton's Berkshire Champion. On the 1st of March four seeds were sown. They were ready for planting in about three weeks, and were put in a two light cold pit with a small quantity of fermenting materials underneath. In five weeks after I began to cut well developed fruit. From that time (the beginning of May) until the early part of November, the plants yielded a continuous and abundant supply of fruit ranging in length from 20 to 22 inches. Six hundred good Cucumbers were cut, being at the rate of one hundred and fifty to each plant. From first to last they were perfectly free from disease."—RILBY SCOTT, Gardener to J. R. Campbell, Esq., Oakover, Titchmarsh.

Sutton's Improved Telegraph.

This improved strain has been grown by us for the past two years, but we have hitherto failed to secure sufficient seed to offer it to the public. It is without exception the finest type of Telegraph Cucumber yet offered; handsome in shape, very small neck, and remarkably prolific. ... 2 6

Sir Garnet Wolseley. A remarkably handsome variety, very prolific and of excellent flavour. It grows to a great length, and is very useful for exhibition purposes ... 2 6

Hamilton's Goliath, very fine ... 1 6

Hamilton's Needle Gun, Hamilton's British Volunteer, Hamilton's Invincible, and Hamilton's British Challenge. All splendid varieties... each 1 6

All the Year Round. One of the best for winter use. Fine shape and flavour, and an abundant cropper, answering equally well in the forcing house or cold frame... 1 0

Blue Gown. Grows to a good size, uniform in shape, and of excellent flavour ... 1 6

Dean's Early Prolific, a valuable Cucumber, perfect in form, and very solid; prolific and of good flavour; grows 14 to 16 inches in length ... 1 6

Berkshire Challenge. Excellent white-spine... 1 6

Model. Very handsome and prolific, suitable for exhibition purposes ... 2 6

Packet. s. d.		
Cuthill's Black Spine	1 0	Market Favourite,
Crystal Palace Pet	1 6	Improved ... 1 0
Duke of Edinburgh (Munro's)	1 6	Masters's Prolific ... 1 6
Improved Slon House	1 0	Star of the West ... 1 0
Kirkstall Abbey	1 6	Sooly Qua (Chinese) ... 1 6
Lord Kenyon's Favourite	1 0	Telegraph (Rollison's) ... 2 6
		Ditto (small packet) ... 1 6

Ornamental Cucumber, 10 varieties... 3 6
ditto ditto mixed, packets, 6d. and 1 0

For Ridge Cucumber, see next page.

"I have cut Cucumbers from your Berks Champion three weeks earlier than any of my neighbours."
The Rev. J. R. BARTON, Portenhall, Kimbolton.

Sutton's Flower Seeds—Complete List for 1892 continued.

ASTER—continued. TALL VARIETIES.

Comet. A beautiful and favourite class, which has carried off many prizes at leading Shows. Much resembles the Japanese Chrysanthemum. Height 15 inches.

Rose and white, striped	per packet, 1s. 6d.
Lilac and white, striped	" 1s. 6d.
Blue. Bright shining blue flowers	" 1s. 6d.
Mixed	" 1s. 6d.

'I gained the Bronze Medal of the Petersfield Horticultural Society for 12 Asters with "Comet," besides taking First Prize in the next class with 9 of the same variety.' Mr. T. GOLDRING, Stalham Park Garden.

'I have a grand bed of "Comet." It is a beautiful Aster.' Mr. H. C. DENTON, *Gardener to Major Eckenro*.

Jewel. A charming new class of Aster, almost perfectly globular in form and with incurved petals, resembling the finest of the Paeony flowered varieties. The plants attain a height of about 20 inches, and carry numerous flowers measuring nearly 3 inches in diameter. Valuable for cutting. We offer two colours—both very charming.

Apple-blossom... per packet, 2s. 6d. | Bright rose... per packet, 2s. 6d.

Sutton's Mont Blanc. Plants of good habit, producing an enormous number of well-shaped pure white flowers, of great value for bouquets and general decorative purposes. Height 18 inches... per packet, 2s. 6d.

Sutton's Crimson Globe. Very handsome, the petals overlapping each other so as to form a complete sphere. Colour rich crimson. Height 2 feet... per packet, 2s. 6d.

Washington. A beautiful variety, somewhat resembling the Victoria Aster, but the flowers are larger and more perfectly formed, after the manner of a double Zinnia. One of the most useful strains for exhibition. Height 18 inches.

Four varieties... separate, 3s. 6d. | Mixed... per packet, 1s. 6d.

Sutton's Harbinger. Produces an immense number of large flowers, blooming four weeks before any other class of Aster. Height 18 inches.

Pure white... per packet, 1s. 6d. | Mixed... per packet, 1s. 6d.

'Aster Harbinger. One of Messrs. Sutton's introductions, and quite correctly named. To those by whom white Asters are required as early as possible in the summer the variety under notice should commend itself. The seeds in this instance were sown on March 30 in a frame with only a slight bottom heat from a partially spent heated, and the first blooms were ready for cutting by the first week in July. The habit of the plants is extremely free and branching, every bloom being supported by a rather long stem, which is an advantage for cutting purposes. The flowers are a pure white and velvety, like the Chrysanthemum-flowered, but are larger. Considering how late Asters as a rule are this year, it must be readily understood how valuable Harbinger is for decorative work in a cut state or even in pots. W. S. JOURNAL OF HORTICULTURE, August 20, 1891.

Sutton's Giant French. A specialist exhibition variety; specially selected for its immense flowers and exquisite colours. Height 2 feet.

Six varieties... separate, 3s. 6d.	Scarlet and white, striped	per packet, 1s. 6d.
Blue... per packet, 1s. 6d.	Pure white	" 1s. 6d.
Blue & wh. strpd.	Mixed	" 1s. 6d.
Rose... 1s. 6d.		

Sutton's selection of brilliant colours, mixed, large packet, 2s. 6d.

'I exhibited at the Shipton Flower Show last year your Giant and Victoria Asters, taking First Prize.' E. F. HEALING, Esq., Milton.

'Many of the Giant French Asters had as many as 20 to 30 flowers on a plant.' Mr. A. MURPHY, *Gardener to J. O. MURPHY, Esq.*

'None could beat your Giant French Asters in size, colour, and perfect form.' Mr. T. HOOKER, *Crofton*.

'I took First Prize at our Show with your Giant French Aster, which was very fine.' Mr. G. SHARP, *Gardener to S. WATTS, Esq.*

'The Asters were really a grand show, the finest I have ever seen.' Mr. J. HENRY, *Gardener to the Hon. Mrs. RUSSELL HAMILTON*.

Sutton's Half-guinea Collection of Asters, including a packet (mixed colours) of each of the following varieties:—Sutton's Dwarf Bouquet, Sutton's Keating Beauty, Dwarf Chrysanthemum flowered, Dwarf Paeony Perfection, Dwarf Victoria, Sutton's Giant French, Sutton's Tall Victoria, Sutton's Crown-flowered, Sutton's Quilled Victoria, German Globe.

CULTURE. Several sowings of Aster will ensure a long succession of flowers. In frames seed may be raised from the end of March to the middle of April, and the heat should be only moderate. When the plants attain the third leaf, pick them off round the edges of pots filled with rich compost. From these transfer to other pots singly, or direct to blooming quarters. Gradually harden before planting out. In the open ground towards the end of April, sowings on a good seed bed will result in stout plants if properly managed. Sow thinly in drills; thin early and put the seedlings into final positions while small, or they can be thinned and flowered where sown. Sutton's Book 'The Culture of Vegetables and Flowers' gives full details on the treatment of Asters. Price 5s.

Sutton's Victoria. One of the finest classes for exhibition; flowers very large and globular. As the petals curve outward instead of folding in, the Victoria makes a splendid contrast to the Paeony-flowered varieties. Height 18 inches.

Twelve varieties, separate, 4s. 6d.	Dark blue... per packet, 1s.
Six... 2s. 6d.	Light blue... " 1s.
Crimson... per packet, 1s.	Peach-blossom... " 1s.
Crimson & white, striped. (See illustration page 76) per packet, 1s.	Rosy carmine... " 1s.
	White... 1s. 6d.
	Mixed... " 1s.

Sutton's selection of brilliant colours, mixed, large packet, 2s. 6d.

'The Victoria Asters were perfectly lovely—everyone admired them.' Mr. JOHN DOREY, *Alresford*.

'With your Victoria Asters we have won every Aster prize we have competed for. The number of years we have been rewarded with similar honours makes me feel that too much cannot be said in praise of your strain.' Mr. ROBERT ELLIOTT, *Gardener, Harrogate Castle*.

'Your Victoria Asters are the finest I have ever seen, and I have taken two First Prizes against nine competitors.' Mr. W. DANN, *Gardener to C. H. SIMMONS, Esq.*

Sutton's Quilled Victoria. A beautiful and distinct class, having perfectly tubular petals. Height 1 foot. (See illustration page 76.)

Eight varieties separate, 3s. 6d.	Four varieties... separate, 2s. 6d.
Mixed... per packet, 1s. 6d.	

Sutton's Cockade, or Crown-flowered. Extremely showy, each flower having a white centre bordered with some distinct colour; valuable for bouquets. Height 2 feet. (See illustration page 76.)

Six varieties... separate, 2s. 6d. | Mixed... per packet, 1s.

Sutton's Pomponne. Very free-blooming, with beautifully formed compact flowers; valuable for bouquets. Height 18 inches.

Eight varieties separate, 2s. 6d. | Mixed... per packet, 1s.

Sutton's Exhibition Globe. The finest quilled English Globe Aster in existence, the centre petals being closely set, and the outer guard petals broad and flat. This class of Aster is invaluable to those who exhibit, and it is also greatly prized for bouquets; but the plants are somewhat loose in habit, and are therefore unsuited for bedding. Height 2 feet.

Twelve varieties... separate, 5s. | Mixed... per packet, 2s. 6d.

Truffaut's French Paeony-flowered. One of the best and most extensively cultivated classes, having large incurved flowers of the brightest colours. Height 2 feet. (See illustration page 76.)

Eighteen varieties, separate, 3s. 6d.	White... per packet, 1s. 6d.
Twelve... 2s. 6d.	Dark blue... " 1s.
Six... 1s. 6d.	Scarlet... " 1s.
Black Prince. The darkest Aster yet raised. This and the White make a charming bouquet. Per packet, 1s. 6d.	Crimson & white... " 1s.
	Bright rose... " 1s.
	Mixed... 1s. & 6d.

German Globe. Quilled flowers and branching habit. A showy class for mixed borders; large and free flowering. Height 2 feet.

Six varieties, separate, 1s. 6d.	Purple... per packet, 6d.
White... per packet, 6d.	Mixed... " 6d.
Crimson... 6d.	

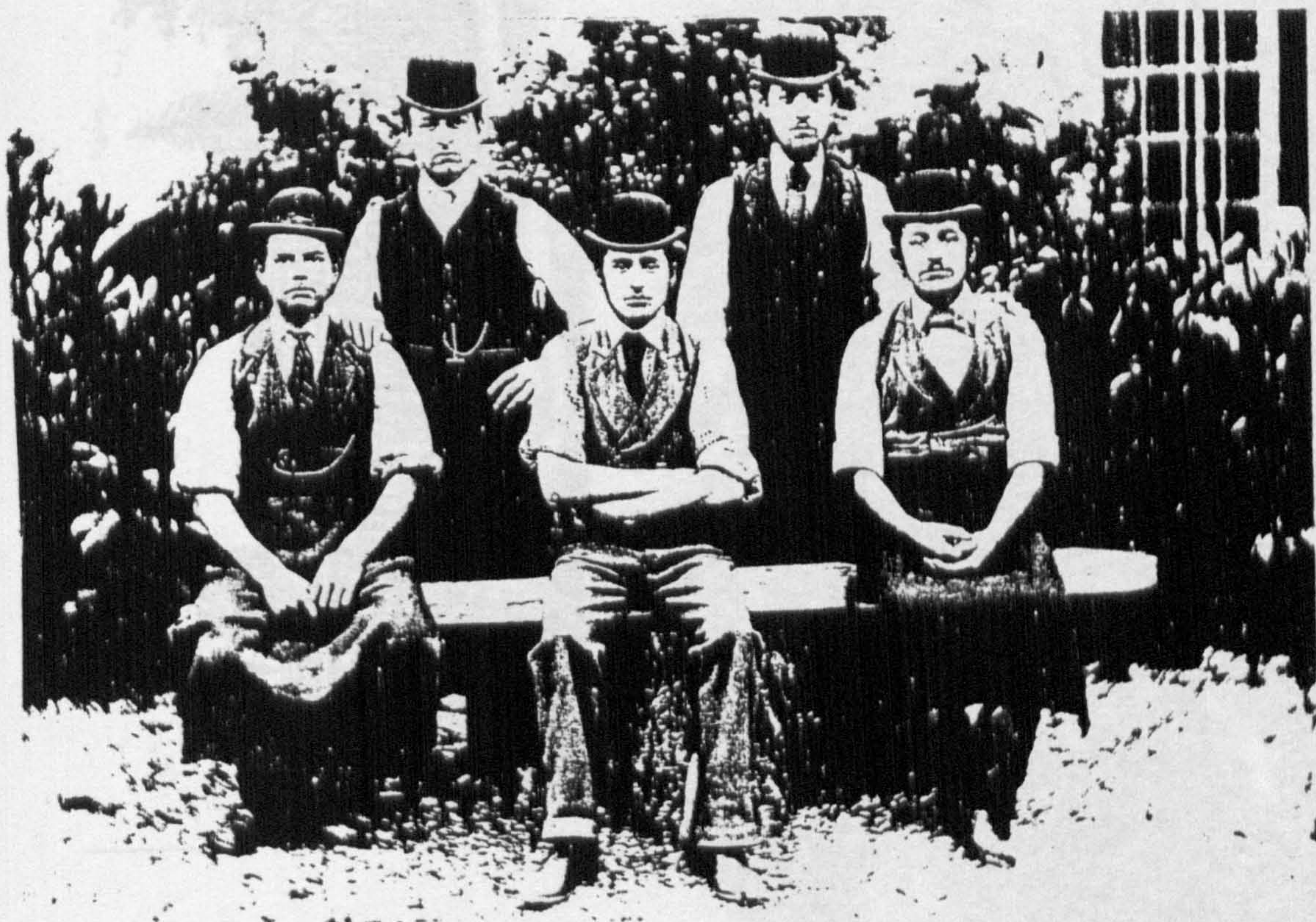
English Globe (Bettendorfs), mixed... per packet, 1s.

German, mixed. Height 2 feet. Per ounce, 2s. 6d.; per packet, 6d. and 3d.

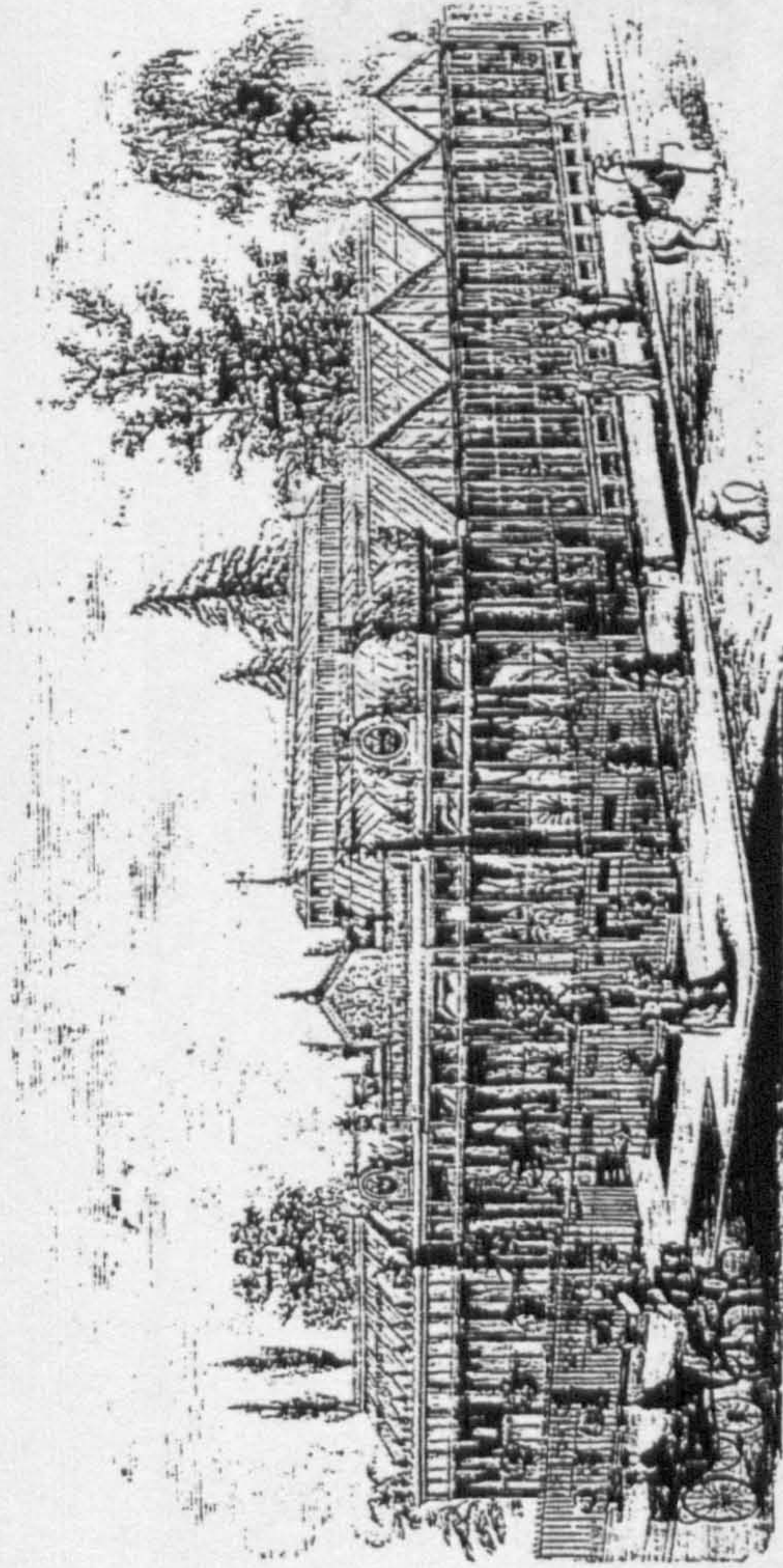
SUTTON & SONS, Seedsmen by Royal Warrant to Her Majesty the Queen.



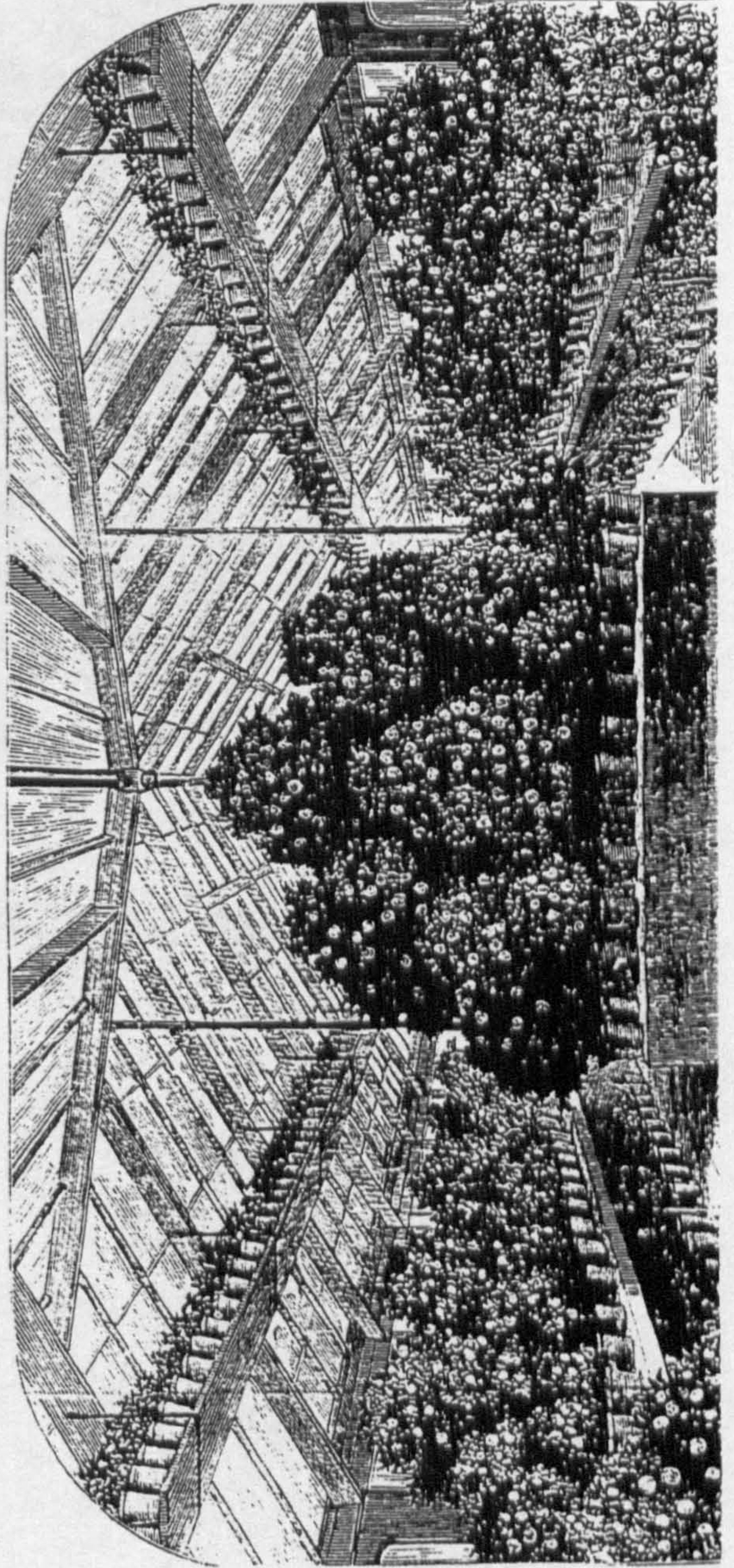
11A. Full garden staff at Chatsworth House in about 1900.



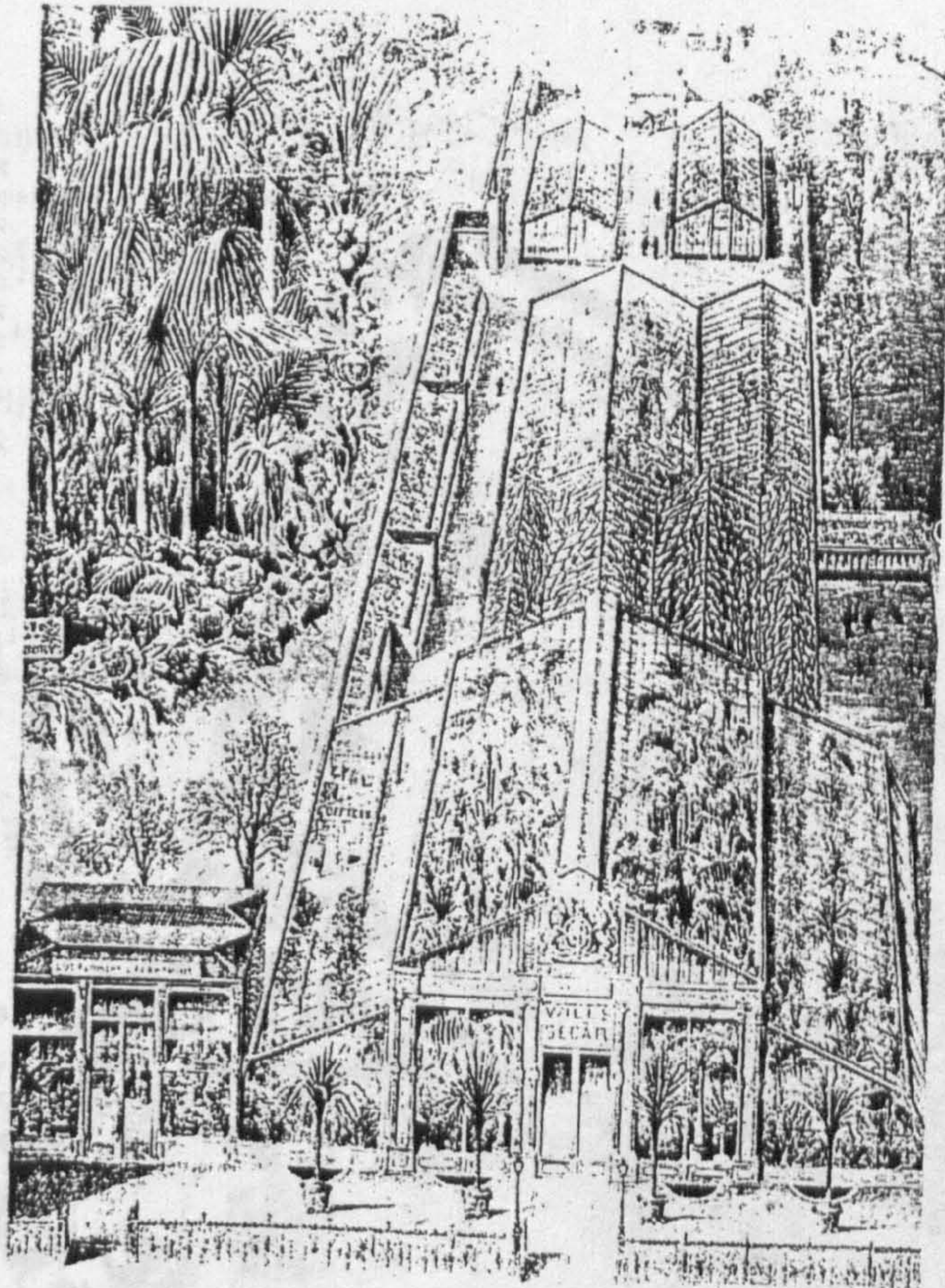
11B. Bothy staff at Blenheim Palace in about 1870.



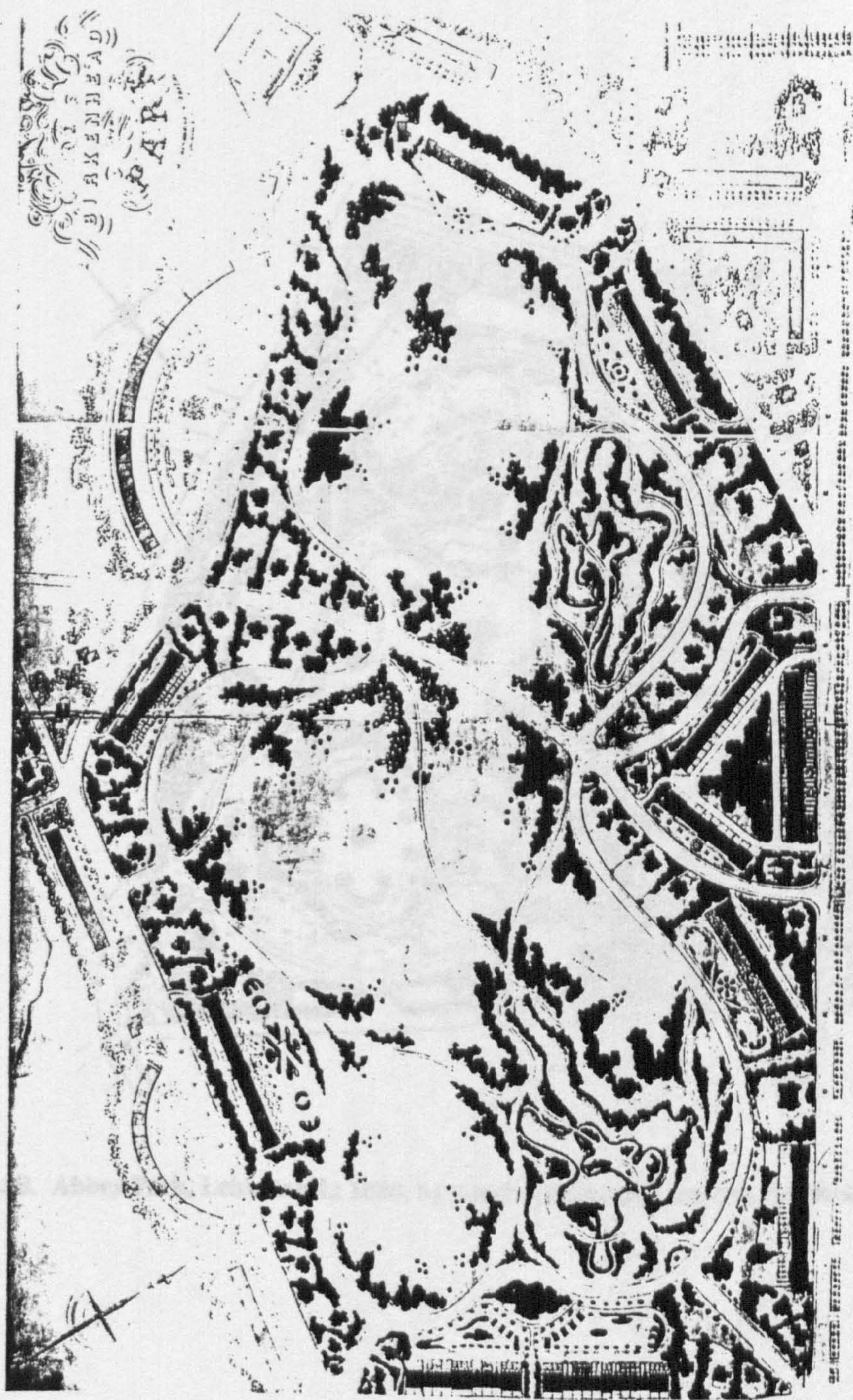
12A. Henderson's Pineapple Nursery, Edgware Road.



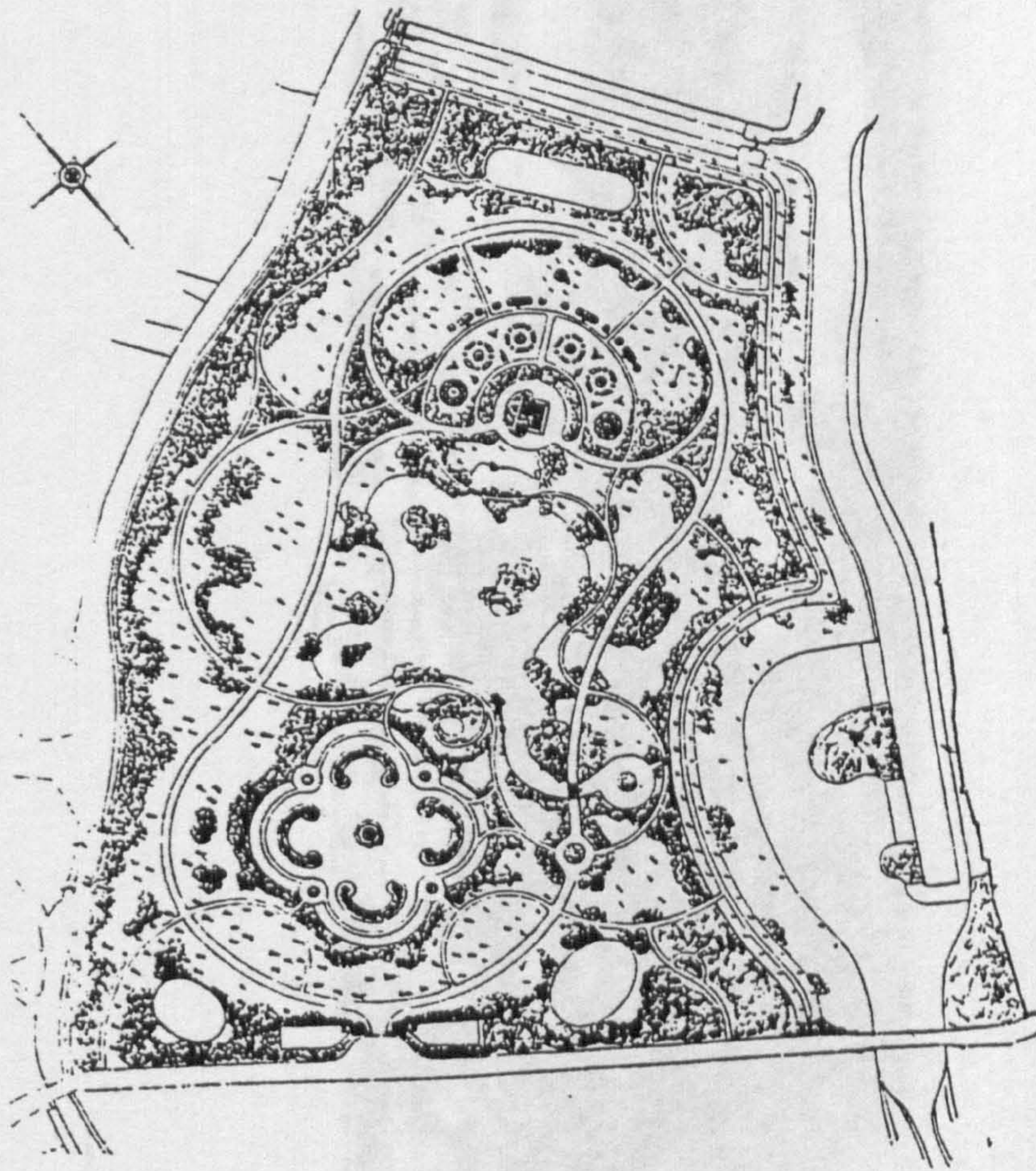
12B. The camellia house
at B. S. Williams' Victoria
and Paradise Nurseries,
Holloway.



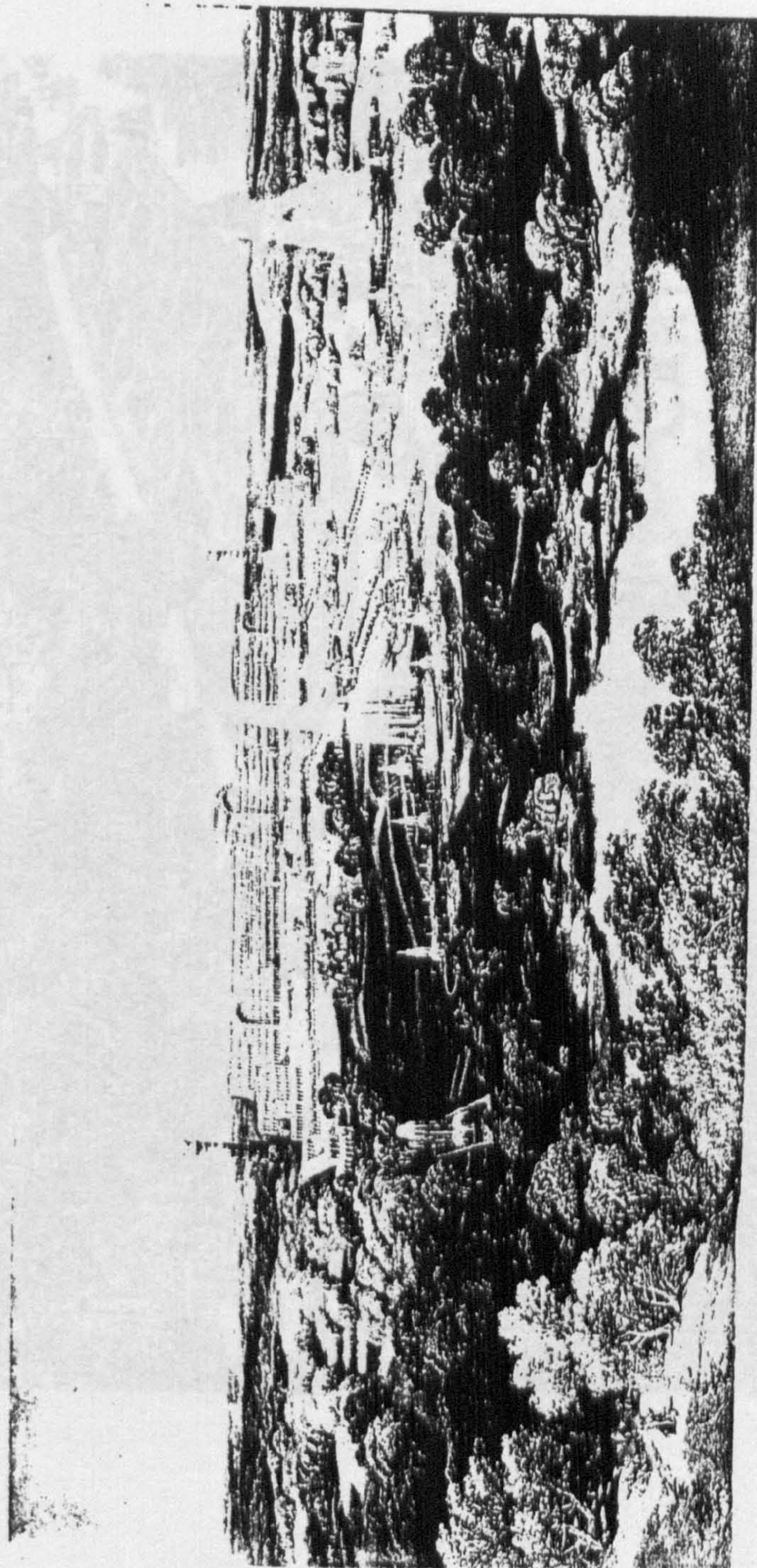
12C. Wills and Segar's Nursery, Kensington.



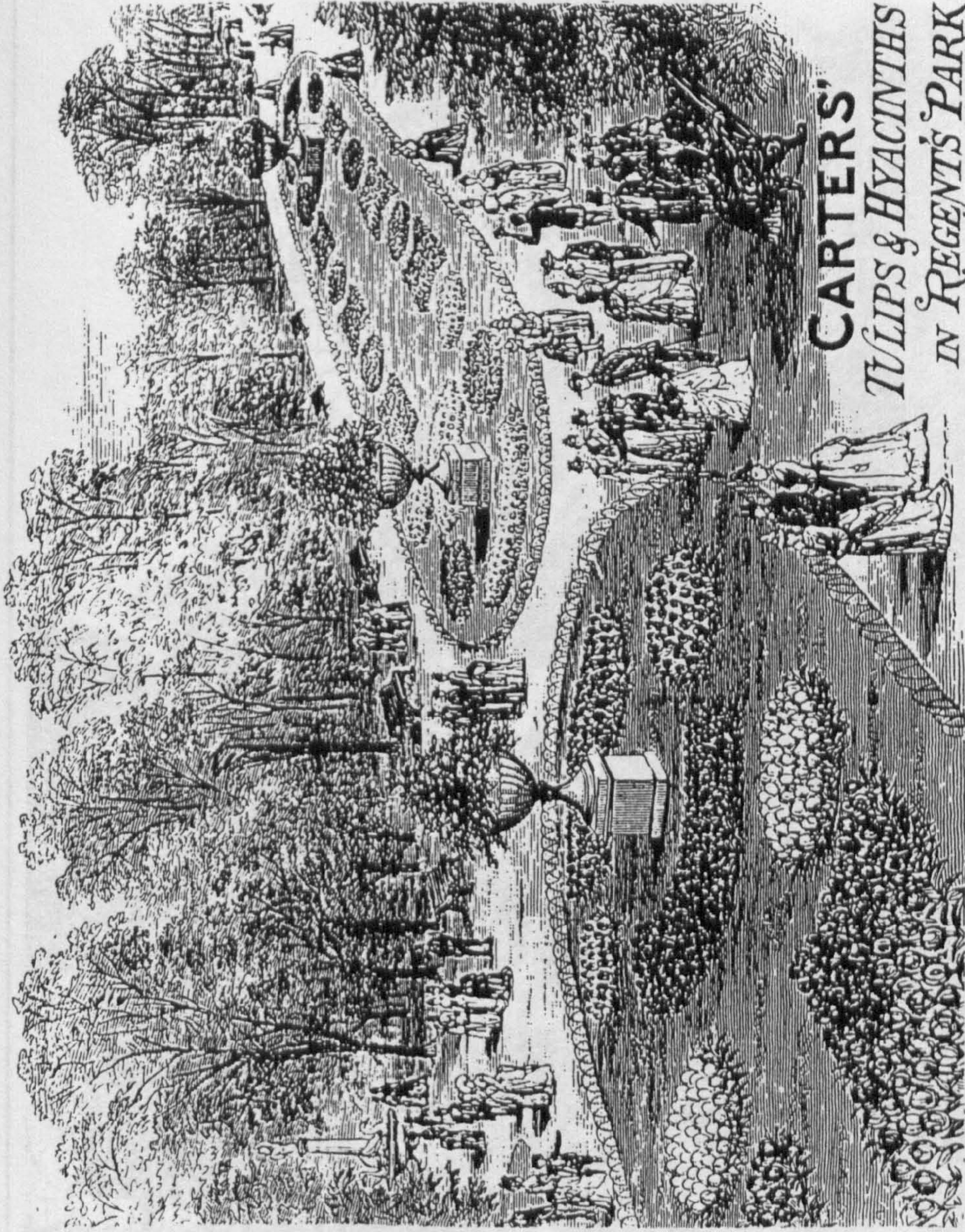
13A. Birkenhead Park in 1845. It was laid out in the 'gardenesque' landscape style, with some formal beds only at the edges.



13B. Abbey Park, Leicester, in 1880, by which date formal planting predominated.

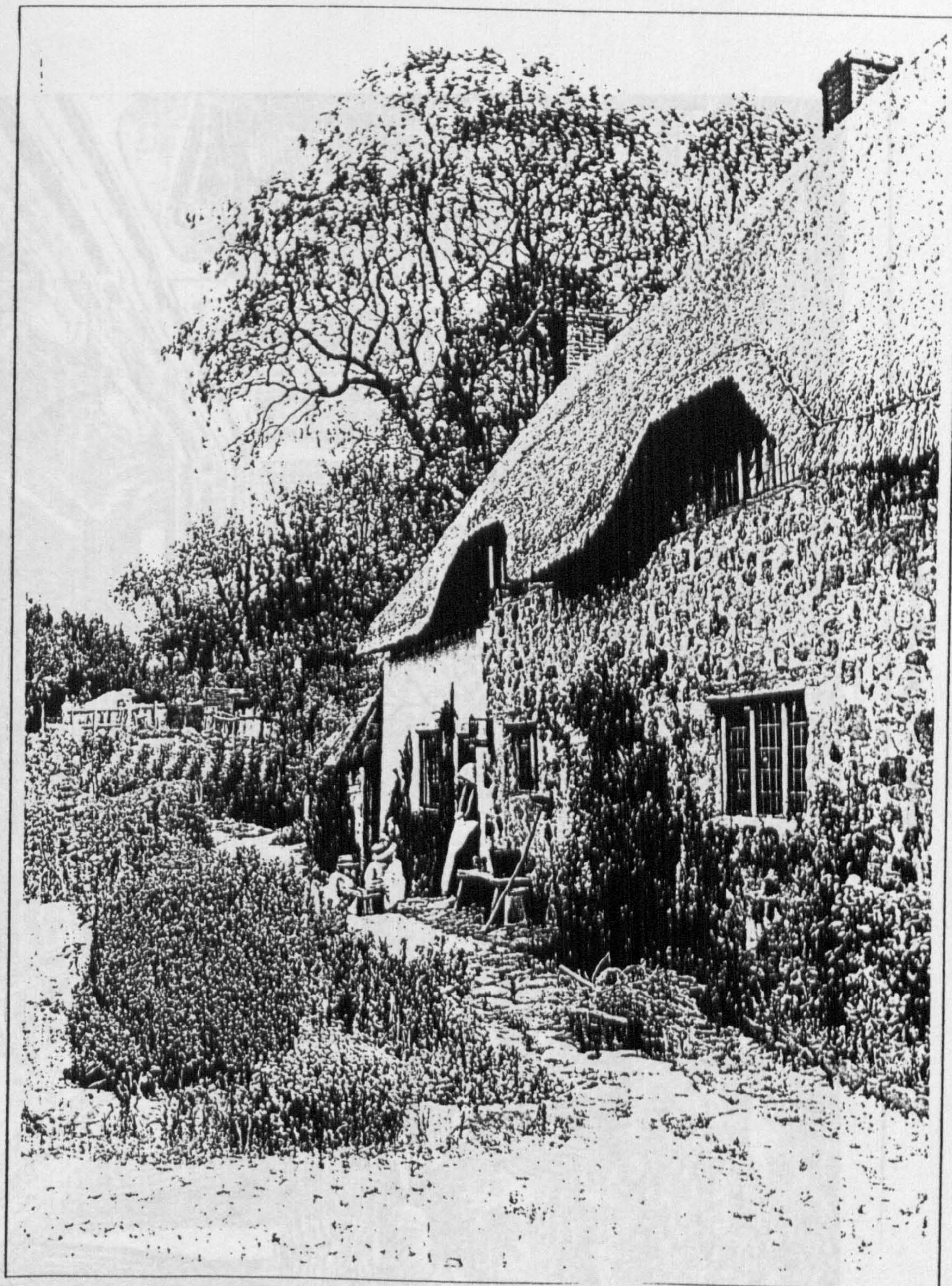


14A. The opening of Crystal Palace at Sydenham, with dramatic Italian terraces and water gardens in the foreground.

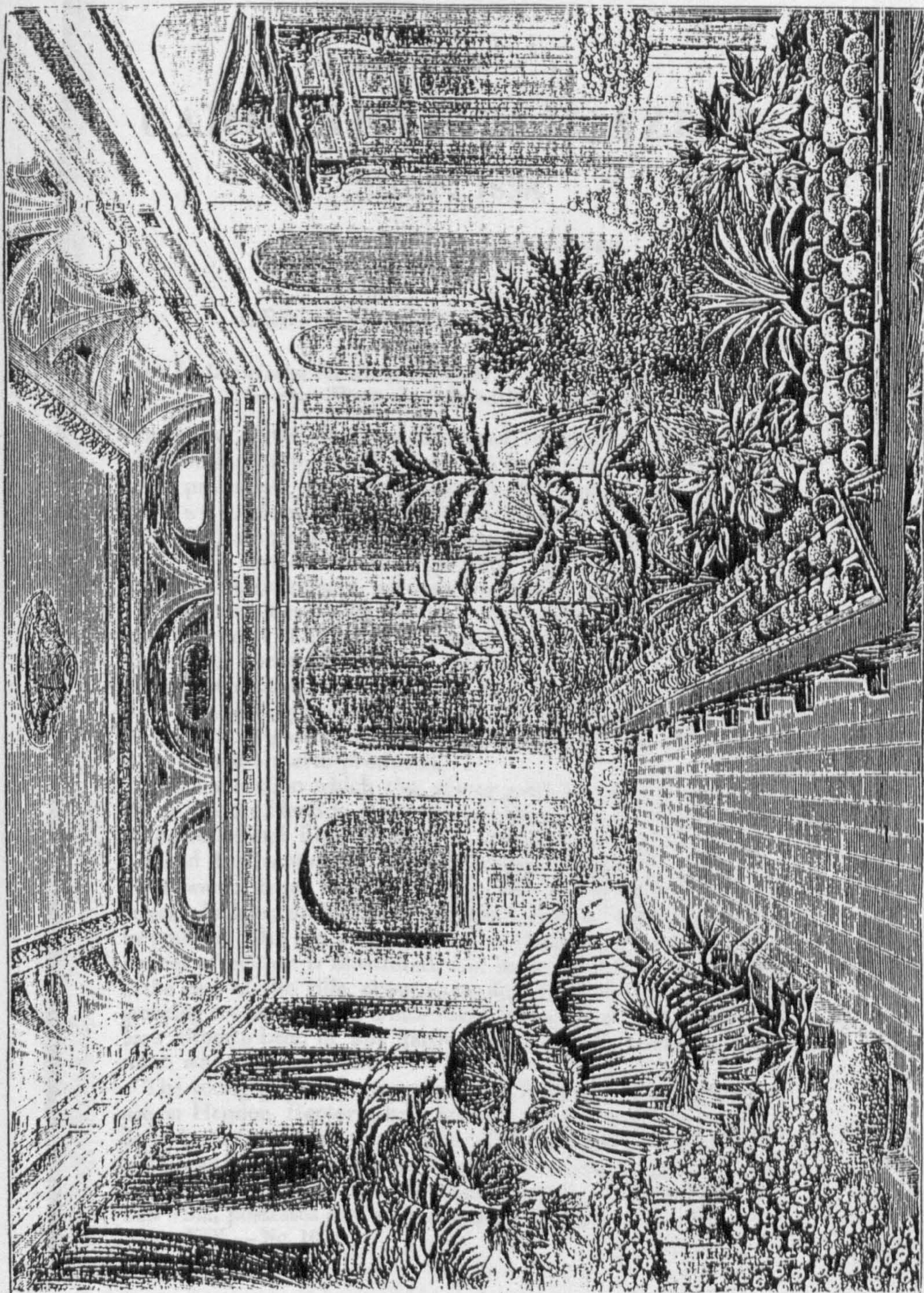


HYACINTHS AND TULIPS IN REGENT'S PARK—SUPPLIED BY CARTERS.

14B. Regent's Park flower beds depicted by Carters' seeds, showing formal planting of spring bulbs.



15. A Victorian cottage garden photographed in about 1888, with flowers at the front and a large vegetable garden at the side.



BOURCH OF HACKNEY TO STONE NEWINGTON CHRYSANTHEMUM SOCIETY'S EXHIBITION, TOWN HALL, HACKNEY.

16. The grandeur and elegance of a Victorian winter flower show.

THE
GARDENER'S MAGAZINE,
JULY, 1838.

ORIGINAL COMMUNICATIONS.

ART. I. *Descriptive Notice of the Villa of Mrs. Lawrence, at Drayton Green.* From the "*Suburban Gardener*."

THE object of the *Suburban Gardener* being to teach something of gardening to those who have not been regularly brought up to the profession, there are, probably, few professional men (and such, we suppose, are most of the readers of the *Gardener's Magazine*) who will think of perusing it. On this account, we gave, in a former Number (p. 220.), a descriptive notice of Hendon Rectory; and we now present a similar account of what we consider to be the very first villa of its class in the neighbourhood of London. Having done this, we do not intend to trouble our readers with any further extracts from the *Suburban Gardener*, but we leave that book to find its way in the world, feeling confident that it will extend the comforts and enjoyments of gardening more effectually than any other work that we have hitherto produced.

The instruction which the young gardener may derive from the article on Hendon Rectory and this article is of two kinds: 1. the occasional illustration of a principle, such as the advantage and disadvantage of different slopes of ground for displaying flower-beds, as explained in the fifth and sixth pages of the present Article; and, 2., the exemplification of other principles by practice. In the case of Hendon Rectory, the gardenesque manner of culture is illustrated, and its practice exhibited; and, in the case of the villa about to be described, the advantages of grouping are set forth in a more striking point of view, than they have hitherto been in any garden, or book of gardening, with which we are acquainted.

The young gardener may also learn from this article, and the one on Hendon Rectory, how little of the real merit of a place depends on its extent, the outline of the ground, the character of the surface, or even the disposition of the house and the domestic offices. Neither Hendon Rectory, nor the Lawrencian Villa, possesses any advantages in these respects: but skill,

Vol. XIV. — No. 100.

x

THE GARDENERS' CHRONICLE.

Established 1841.

A WEEKLY ILLUSTRATED JOURNAL OF HORTICULTURE AND ALLIED SUBJECTS.

No. 119.—VOL. V. (NEW SERIES.)

SATURDAY, APRIL 8, 1876.

Registered at the General Post Office as a Newspaper. Price 5d. Post Free, 5½d.

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NOTICE TO ADVERTISERS.

FRIDAY NEXT, April 14, being GOOD FRIDAY, the "GARDENERS' CHRONICLE" will be published on THURSDAY, at 3 p.m.

ADVERTISEMENTS for next week must therefore reach the Office not later than WEDNESDAY MORNING, the 12th inst.

ALEXANDRA PALACE.—The FIRST GREAT FLOWER SHOW of the Season will be held on FRIDAY and SATURDAY, May 5 and 6. Last day of entry, April 27. The GREAT ROSE SHOW of the Season will be held on FRIDAY and SATURDAY, July 7 and 8. Last day of entry, July 1. Schedules of Prizes and all particulars may be had on application to ALEX. MCKENZIE, 1, and 2, Great Winchester Street Buildings, E.C., and at the Alexandra Palace, Muswell Hill, N.

ROYAL FLORA SOCIETY of BRUSSELS.—The GRAND INTERNATIONAL HORTICULTURAL EXHIBITION will be held at Brussels from APRIL 30 to MAY 6. Accredited Agents: Messrs. R. SILBERRAD and SON, 5, Harp Lane, Great Tower Street, London, E.C.

ROYAL MANCHESTER BOTANICAL and HORTICULTURAL SOCIETY.—EXHIBITION of AURICULAS and MISCELLANEOUS PLANTS, Town Hall, APRIL 25. ROYAL NATIONAL TULIP SOCIETY'S SHOW at the Gardens, Old Trafford, MAY 26 and 27. GRAND NATIONAL HORTICULTURAL EXHIBITION, JUNE 29 to 30. EXHIBITION of CARNATIONS, FRUITS, &c., AUGUST 11 and 12. For Schedules, apply to the undersigned, BRUCE FINDLAY, Royal Botanic Gardens, Manchester.

READING HORTICULTURAL SOCIETY'S SHOWS will be held on MAY 18 and AUGUST 17, 1876, when PRIZES to the value of TWO HUNDRED and EIGHTY GUINEAS will be given away. Schedules to be obtained of F. PETTY, Hon. Sec., 10, Forebury, Reading.

SUTTON'S GRASS SEEDS for PASTURES, 2s. 6d. to 3s. 6d. per Acre. Carriage free.

SUTTON'S GRASS SEEDS for PARK GROUNDS, 2s. 6d. per Bushel. Carriage free.

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A. VAN GEERT, NURSERYMAN, Ghent, Belgium, begs to intimate that he has just issued a SUPPLEMENTARY LIST to his General CATALOGUE of New and Rare Plants at considerably reduced prices, and which will be forwarded free to all applicants, either by himself or by his Agents, Messrs. R. SILBERRAD and SON, 5, Harp Lane, Great Tower Street, London, E.C.

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CARTER'S GRASS SEEDS. Carriage Free. To suit all Soils.

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WILLIAM BADMAN offers good plants of Venus, from single pots, 1s. 6d. per 100, 8s. 6d. per 1000; Mrs. Pollock, 1s. 6d. per 100; Crystal Palace Gem, 1s. 6d. per 100. Package included. Terms cash. Cemetery Nursery, Gravesend, S.E.

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H. BENNETT offers a careful selection of the above, in plants not to be equalled in quality this season; ready in March. DESCRIPTIVE LIST post-free. Manor Farm Nursery, Stapleford, Salisbury.

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VERBENAS, VERBENAS, VERBENAS.—White, Purple, Scarlet, and Pink; also twelve extra choice named varieties, strong, healthy-rooted cuttings, perfectly free from disease, 6s. per 100, 5s. 6d. per 1000, for cash.

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Notice.—Seeds, Seeds. **WM. CUTBUSH and SON** can confidently recommend their stock of Garden and other Seeds. CATALOGUES now ready, which contain every requisite, at fair prices, post-free on application.

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Mr. WEBB, Colney, Reading.

CONSIGNMENTS wanted of best FRUITS and VEGETABLES by GEO. LAXTON, Jun., Salesman, Covent Garden Market. Unexceptionable references as to cash returns.

WANTED, for April 23, Nine Dozen Cut Branches of PERPETUAL and TEA ROSES. Please send quantities that can be supplied, with terms, to CHARMAN and SONS, Heath End Nursery, Farnham, Surrey.

WANTED, a quantity of EUONYMUS (Green) from 1 to 2 feet high, nice bushy stuff; also large well-grown FICUS ELASTICA, and hardy PALMS and FERNS. Send sizes and prices to G. REEVES SMITH, Aquarium, Brighton.

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18B. The Gardeners' Chronicle in 1876: the price is reduced and the emphasis is on flowers.

The GARDENERS' CHRONICLE

ESTABLISHED 1841

No. 2978.

No. 578.—Vol. XXIII. (THIRD SERIES) SATURDAY, JANUARY 22, 1898.

(Regd. as a Newspaper.) (PRICE 3d. POST FREE, 3d.)

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SPECIAL NOTICE TO ADVERTISERS.

Owing to the large increase in the circulation, the hour of going to Press has been altered, and in future all Copy for Advertisements must be received by 5 P.M. on WEDNESDAY at THE LATEST.

H. CANNELL AND SON'S PURE OWN-GROWN GOLDEN KENTISH SEEDS are the finest the world can produce. AS A PROOF, the President, Council and Thirty Expert Committees of the Royal Horticultural Society, awarded me the Highest Honour; also instructed their Secretary, the Rev. W. Wilks, to say that the Vegetables composing our great exhibit were "WONDERFUL." This speaks for itself. Send for Ours, the best and most edifying Catalogue ever issued. Price 1s.; post free to customers. SWANLEY, KENT.

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18C. The *Gardeners' Chronicle* near the end of the century: the price is half what is started as and even the advertisements seem to have lost their formality.

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GARDENER (HEAD, WORKING).—Middle-aged; twenty-five years' good experience. A first-class Flower and Kitchen Plant grower. Understands the Management of a Gentleman's Establishment, and has General Routine of a Gentleman's Establishment. First-class character from present and previous employers.—A. R., Post Office, Sutton Walden, Essex.

GARDENER (HEAD, WORKING).—Age 38, married, twenty-five years' experience. Thoroughly understands the profession in all its branches. A good practical knowledge of Land and Stock. Wife a good plain Cook and excellent Dairywoman. Cause of leaving, the Gentleman taking up the Establishment. Excellent testimonials. Good character from last employer.—E. R. W., *Gardener's Chronicle* Office, W.C.

GARDENER (HEAD, or SINGLE-HANDED).—Age 34, married; understands Vines, Melons, Cucumbers, Flower and Kitchen Gardening. Sixteen years' experience. Good reference. State wages.—J. H., Southsea Lane, Basingstoke.

GARDENER (SINGLE-HANDED, or where help is given).—Age 27, single; thoroughly understands the profession in all its branches. Ten years' experience. Good reference.—R. SPENDLOVE, 5, Camberley Place, Bafford, Harrow.

GARDENER (HEAD, or good SINGLE-HANDED).—Age 24, married; understands Flower and Kitchen Gardening. Three years in present situation.—A. R., 1, Lambart, The Library, Uxbridge.

GARDENER (HEAD), or GARDENER and BAILIFF.—J. Cass, twenty years Gardener and Bailiff to the late F. L. Hinds, Esq., Byfleet Lodge, Weybridge, Surrey, is now at liberty to engage with any Nobleman or Gentleman in want of a thoroughly energetic and trustworthy servant; practically conversant with the various branches of Gardening, also Land and Stock. Wife good Dairy and Poultry woman.—Byfleet, Weybridge, Surrey.

GARDENER.—A Clergyman can strongly recommend to any Gentleman a married Man, without family, age 30, 25 above; has been in his service for ten years.—M. A., Kent Lodge, Enslinham.

GARDENER.—Age 40, married; thoroughly practical; well up in Forcing of all kinds, Kitchen Garden cropping, and management of Flower Garden and Pleasure Grounds.—W. H., W. W. Johnstone, Manager, The Lawson Nurseries, Edinburgh.

GARDENER (good SINGLE-HANDED, or where a Second is kept).—Age 25. Understands the Management of Stove and Greenhouse Plants, &c. Good character.—Address, stating particulars, to W. T., Mrs. Tye, North Quay, Chichester, Kent.

GARDENER (SECOND, or SINGLE-HANDED) in a small Garden.—Age 25; married, one in family. Good character.—J. S., 1, Van Cottages, Clay Street, Walthamstow, Essex.

GARDENER (SECOND), in a Nobleman's or Gentleman's Garden.—Age 25; good experience. First-class character from present employer.—G. H., Post Office, Wood Green, London, N.

GARDENER (SECOND).—Age 25; nine years' experience in good establishments, four years in present situation. Good references.—H. D., The Gardens, Bedford, Wiltshire.

GARDENER (SECOND), where three or four are kept, or SINGLE-HANDED where assistance is given.—Age 24; good character.—W. H., Post Office, West Malling, Kent.

GARDENER (SECOND), in a good Establishment.—Age 24, married; has been two years in present situation. Good references.—A. H., Post Office, West Wickham, Kent.

GARDENER (UNDER).—Age 19; leaving present situation for improvement.—H. A., Post Office, Lacock, Wilts.

GARDENER (UNDER).—Seven years' experience. Good character.—G. P. H., The Gardens, Lacock, Wilts.

GARDENER (UNDER).—Age 19; leaving present situation for improvement.—X. V. Z., Post Office, Lacock, Chippingham, Wilts.

GARDENER (UNDER, good).—Age 21, single; fifteen months' experience.—Address, stating full particulars, to C. CLARK, The Gardens, Runcote House, Epsom, Surrey.

GARDENER and BAILIFF.—Age 45; has had good practice in General Gardening, Laying out Grounds, Ornamental and Forest Planting, also Land and Stock. Wife Dairy and Poultry.—Z. Y., Post Office, Hendon, Middlesex.

FOREMAN, in a Gentleman's Establishment, or HEAD where two or more are kept.—Age 24. Good character.—J. T., Post Office, Epsom, Surrey.

FOREMAN.—Age 23; nine years' good experience in Stove and Greenhouse Plants and Early Forcing.—H. C., Eagle House, Cheltenham, S.W.

FOREMAN, in a Nobleman's or Gentleman's Establishment.—Age 25; nine years' experience in all branches of the profession. First-class references.—H. V., Post Office, Upper Holloway, London, N.

FOREMAN, in a Gentleman's Establishment.—Age 25, single; has had good experience in all branches of the profession. Two years' good character.—Y. Z., Post Office, Chislehurst, Kent.

FOREMAN.—The Vineyard, Garden, near Liverpool, wish to recommend as above, in a Nobleman's or Gentleman's Garden, an intelligent and energetic young Man who has been over twelve months in their establishment.

FOREMAN (INFORM).—Age 26, single; understands the Propagating and Growing of Stove and Greenhouse Plants in general, also Huddling and Grafting. Eleven years' experience in good places.—H. Mrs. Hilly, Newbold, Beverly, Yorkshire.

FOREMAN, or SECOND, in a good Establishment.—Age 25; ten years' experience. Understands Forcing, Flower and Kitchen Gardening, and can produce two years' first-class recommendation from last situation for honesty, industry, and experience at his business.—W. C., Hensbridge Villas, Ordinance Road, St. John's Wood, N.W.

FOREMAN, or good SECOND, in a Nobleman's or Gentleman's Establishment.—Age 25, single; good knowledge of the profession. Good character.—J. H. CRUICK, Pington, Devon.

FOREMAN, or SECOND, in a large or small Gentleman's Establishment.—Seven and a half years' experience indoors and out; very willing. Can produce first-class testimonials, and is strongly recommended.—G. DAINS, 12, Marine Parade, Southend-on-Sea.

JOURNEYMAN, in a Nobleman's or Gentleman's Establishment.—Has a good knowledge of the profession, as his testimonials will certify.—J. H., Newton Park, Burton-on-Trent.

JOURNEYMAN, in the Houses, in a Nobleman's or Gentleman's Garden.—Eight years' experience. Two years' good character from present situation.—THOMAS JONES, Brougham Hall Gardens, Skipton, Yorks.

JOURNEYMAN, in a First-class Establishment.—Two years' good reference from last situation.—M. J., 14, Devonport Road, Upper Holloway, N.

JOURNEYMAN, in the Houses, in a Nobleman's or Gentleman's Establishment, where Gardening is well carried out.—Nine years' experience. First-class references.—S. W., 22, Grosvenor Road, Upper Holloway, London, N.

PROPAGATOR (UNDER), in the Hard-wooded Department.—Age 25. Good character.—A. B., Post Office, Harpenden Green, near Wilmsden, N.W.

TO NURSERYMEN.—Wanted, by a steady young Man, a situation in the Soft-wooded Department. Country preferred. Good references.—A. B., 10, Mayland Villa, Highbury Lane, Lewisham, S.E.

PROPAGATOR and GROWER of Soft-wood and other Nursery stock in a general way; middle-aged, strictly sober, steady, and thoroughly practical. Can renovate and improve neglected and unmarketable stock, or manage a small place if required, being industrious, careful and methodical. Moderate wages required. **HORTICULTURE,** 15, Sidney Street, Bolton, Lancashire.

IMPROVER, in the Houses.—Age 18; three and a half years' experience. Good character.—G. CURTIS, Colney Park, St. Albans, Herts.

MANAGER, HEAD SHOPMAN, CORRESPONDENT.—Age 31; fourteen years' experience in the London Seed Trade. Satisfactory references from present employers.—HORTUS, 45, Upper Berkeley Street, W.

TRAVELLER and MANAGER, &c.—An energetic and practical Man desires a situation (permanent preferred) in the Seed Trade as above, and to assist with correspondence if required. Over twenty years' experience. Satisfactory references.—G. W., Post Office, Worcester.

TRAVELLER, &c.—Experienced and well known on the road. Good references.—E. C., 320, Kennington Road, S.E.

TRAVELLER, or HEAD SHOPMAN and TRAVELLER. Advertising will be shortly dispensed; thoroughly acquainted with the business both Wholesale and Retail. References unexceptionable.—A. B., *Gardener's Chronicle* Office, W.C.

TRAVELLER, SHOPMAN, or CLERK.—A Re-engagement wanted by the Advertiser in either of the above capacities.—G. *Gardener's Chronicle* Office, W.C.

SHOPMAN.—Young. No objection to assist in the Nursery occasionally. First-class references.—A. H., *Gardener's Chronicle* Office, W.C.

TO NURSERYMEN and SEEDSMEN.—A young Man (age 22) is in want of a situation in a Nursery or Seed Shop. Three years in last situation.—E. J. S., 140, Rotherfield Street, Essex Road, Islington, N.

TO SEEDSMEN, FLORISTS, &c.—Wanted, by a thoroughly experienced Man, an immediate situation. Is well up in the Seed Trade in all its branches, Nurseries, General Gardening and the London Plant and Nursery Trades. (If good address and kind of a pushing business.—SEEDSMAN, &c., 3, Prince Street, Gloucester.

JUNIOR CLERK.—Messrs. JAMES VEITCH & Co. require at once a young Man to act in the above capacity; one who has already some knowledge of the business preferred.—Address, stating full particulars in own handwriting, to Royal Kew Nursery, Chelsea.

CARPENTER, &c., on a Gentleman's Estate or in Nursery; is well up in Horticultural and General Building, Hot-water, Sanitary Works, and General Repairs. Six years in last situation.—R. S., 2, Cornwall Villas, Hamilton Road, Lower Norwood, Surrey.

F. P. S. S. C. O. C. O. A. GRATEFUL-COMFORTING.

"By a thorough knowledge of the natural laws which govern the operations of digestion and nutrition, and by a careful application of the fine properties of well-selected Cocoa, Mr. Epps has provided our breakfast tables with a deliciously flavoured beverage which may save many heavy doctors' bills. It is by the judicious use of such articles of diet that a constitution may be gradually built up until strong enough to resist every tendency to disease. Hundreds of subtle poisons are floating around in ready to attack wherever there is a weak point. We may escape some a fatal attack by having ourselves well fortified with pure blood and a properly nourished frame." *Civil Service Gazette.*

KINAHAN'S I.L.L. WHISKY. This celebrated and most delicious old mellow whisky is the very CREAM of IRISH WHISKIES, in quality unvalued, perfectly pure, and more wholesome than the finest Cognac Brandy. Note the Red Seal, Pink Label, and Cork Brand "Kinahan's I.L.L." Whisky. Wholesale Depot, 20, Great Titchfield Street, Oxford Street, W.

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The best remedy for ACIDITY of the STOMACH, HEARTBURN, HEADACHE, GOUT, and INDIGESTION; and the safest aperient for delicate Constitutions, Ladies, Children, and Infants. **DINNEFORD AND CO.,** 170, New Bond Street, London, and all Chemists.

PURE AERATED WATERS.

ELIASE RUTHIN WATERS. CRYSTAL SPRING—Beds, Putney, Surrey; Lonsdale, Litchfield, and for GOUT, Litchfield and Putney. And for GOUT, Litchfield and Putney. Casks Branded "R. ELLIS and SON, RUTHIN," and every label bears their trade mark. Sold everywhere, and Wholesale of ELLIS & SON, Ruthin, N. Wales. London Agents: W. HEST AND SONS, Henrietta St., Cavendish Sq.

HOLLOWAY'S PILLS.

SAFE, YET EFFECTIVE.—No other medicine combines the same Purifying, Alterative, and Tonic properties which have raised these Pills so highly in the estimation of the public. In diseases arising from unhealthy situations, close apartments, and sedentary occupations, no means so potent for cooling, cleansing, and regulating the human body can be found. Holloway's Pills wonderfully improve a weak digestion by stimulating the gastric secretion and moderately rousing the functions of the liver, hence their well known power of removing biliousness, and remedying every other dyspeptic undecomplicated. They entirely overcome the lethargic symptoms attending bad digestion, and have for years been esteemed the best and safest family aperient. They are particularly suitable for young females and children.

WEEKLY CALENDAR.

WEATHER NEAR LONDON IN 1853.											
		Barometer.	Thermo.	Wind.	Rain in Inches.	Sun Rises.	Sun Sets.	Moon R. & S.	Moon's Age.	Clock of Sun.	Day of Year.
10	Tu	29.909—29.921	67—81	N.	40	54.59	74.48	0 43	26	4 56	191
11	W	29.904—29.954	65—80	N.W.	81	57	73	1 19	27	5 5	192
12	Th	29.931—29.709	66—46	N.	17	59	73	1 47	28	5 15	193
13	F	29.834—29.774	66—49	S.W.	—	59	71	2 35	29	6 24	194
14	Sa	29.934—29.749	65—58	S.W.	82	59	70	sets.	30	6 28	195
15	Su	29.995—29.749	72—47	N.W.	—	2	9	9 20	1	6 24	196
16	M	29.122—29.901	77—52	S.W.	—	3	8	9 49	2	6 41	197

THE METEOROLOGY OF THE WEEK.—At Chislewick, from observations during the last twenty-eight years, the average highest and lowest temperatures of these days are 75.2°, and 51.5°, respectively. The greatest heat, 93.5°, occurred on the 14th, in 1847; and the lowest cold, 28°, on the 10th, in 1851. During the period 124 days were fine, and on 72 rain fell.

Examining our notes upon the Plants mentioned in the Holy Scriptures, we come next in the English alphabetical order to the **BRIAR**.

It is quite certain that our translators used this as a comprehensive name to represent several very different plants of which they did not know the true titles, but only that they were armed with thorns or prickles.

One circumstance which is very peculiar in the Scriptures, is that there are always two such plants named in each passage where they are mentioned. This obliged our translators to use two separate terms to mark the distinction, but it is quite uncertain whether they have used them correctly, or, rather, it is certain that they have not.

The distinctive terms made use of by the translators, are "Thorn" and "Briar"—by which they indicate as their opinion, that in the original, a plant with a straight piercing armament, and a plant with a hooked lacerating armament occur in juxtaposition.

Let us take the first occurring example, that of *Judges* viii. 7, and there Gideon threatens the insolent princes of Succoth in these words—"I will tear (thresh) your flesh with the thorns of the wilderness, and with **Briers** (*Habbarkaneem*)."^{*} A threat, according to the 10th Verse, that he fully executed.

This passage sustains the opinion of our translators; but then arises the question, what plant was really intended by the Hebrew word *Habbarkaneem*? Aquila thought that it was one of the Goat's Thorns, which Rarwolf first described as growing in Syria, and which he called *Tragacantha Syriaca*. It has long, very sharp thorns. Symmachus, another good authority, thought that the *Thistle* is the *Habbarkaneem*, a diversity of opinion which shows that we must be content with uncertainty.

Next comes the *Ohadak* of the Bible, which our translators have rendered Thorn, in *Proverbs* xv. 19, and *Briar*, in *Micah* vii. 4. We know nothing of the plant really intended, but as the Hebrew original is derived from a root signifying "sharpness," we have the intimation that the plant intended was one capable of occasioning great suffering to those upon whom it fell, and it has been well observed, that in the passage in the book of *Proverbs* there is a beautiful exposition which is lost in our translation—"The narrow way of the slothful is like a perplexed path among **Briers**, whereas the broad road of the righteous is a high bank." In other words, the course pursued by the righteous is

like a causeway free from obstructions, direct, conspicuous, and open. The course of life of those two characters answers to the above comparisons; the idle man adopts oblique measures, which almost invariably are thorny, to accomplish his purposes; whereas, the honest and diligent man prefers measures the most open and most direct.

The simile in the prophet *Micah* is not less just. He is complaining of the Prince and of the Judge, who "asketh a reward," observing that "the best of them is a **Briar**," clasping and wounding all with whom it comes in contact.

Next occurs the word *Shamar*, but only in the book of *Isaiah*.^{*} Being so exclusively and frequently named by this prophet, we have no doubt that he alluded to some well-known and abundant thorny plant of the country, and such is the genus *Fagonia*. Thus *Fagonia cretica* is found in dry soils exposed to the sun, quite consistent with the prophet's denunciation against the vineyard, when he says—"I will lay it waste: it shall not be pruned nor digged, but there shall come up thorns and *Shamar*: I will also command the clouds that they rain no rain upon it." (v. 6)

The above species of *Fagonia*, and several others, such as *F. arabica*, *F. persica*, and *F. Olivierii*, all natives of countries bordering on Palestine, are commonly employed for the easy kindling of fires, and must have rendered most forcible to all the prophet's readers the other chapters to which we have referred, in which he warns the Israelites that by God a fire will be kindled which "shall burn and devour his thorns and his *Shamar* in one day."

In the 18th verse of the 55th chapter of the same prophetic book occurs the word *Sirphad*, derived from two Hebrew words signifying "a thorn," and "to spread abroad." The translators of our Version have Englished the sentence thus: "Instead of the *Briar* shall come up the Myrtle tree;" but we have no guide to a closer conclusion respecting the plant intended beyond the derivations we have stated.

Lastly, in the 24th verse of the 28th chapter of the book of *Ezekiel*, occurs this passage: "There shall be no more a pricking *Briar* unto the house of Israel, nor any grieving thorn." The name translated *Briar*, is, in the Hebrew, *Silloem*, but we have no reliable guide to a conjecture of the plant referred to by the prophet.

^{*} It occurs in the following chapters of this prophet:—v. 5; vii. 22, 24, 26; ix. 10; x. 17; xvii. 4; and xxii. 12.

dark crimson; very effective. It is as good in beds as in pots, very free flowering, and distinct from all others.

Captain Nares.—Of a soft light shade of scarlet, with large handsome trusses. A useful variety for cut flowers.

Mrs. Mellish.—An old but very good variety, with large flowers, so elegant in form and so richly coloured as to surpass many newer sorts.

Guinea.—Bright orange scarlet flowers, elegantly shaped and very handsome trusses. A very good variety, bright and attractive, but not yellow as it has been fancifully described.

Dazzler.—Large handsome flowers, of a deep rich shade of scarlet; a fine variety.

Crescator.—A very useful pot plant, with abundant trusses of a soft rosy hue.

Fanny Cattin.—This is a lovely salmon-coloured variety, of a deep hue in the centre of the flowers, shaded to a much lighter line outwards, and the petals have a pretty pencilling of a dark salmon colour.

Sophie Birkin.—Flowers "like a picture," so charmingly varied are the tints of salmon, and so handsome are they in form. I know none of its colour equal to it as a pot plant.

Edith Pearson is another lovely variety, having a tinge of salmon on a rosy red ground.

Mrs. Leavers.—Pink varieties are so numerous and so good that selection is not easy. This old sort still holds a leading position for pot culture, for which purpose I have frequently heard it pronounced to be the best. It is somewhat dwarf in habit, and bears a profusion of its handsome richly coloured flowers.

Mrs. Wright also continues to hold a high place; its shell-like petals so elegantly disposed, its compact truss, and colour of a bright pleasing shade of pink combine to render it very valuable.

Mrs. Turner.—Has very large trusses somewhat loose, but of a distinct shade of pink, and worthy of a place.

Mrs. Lancaster.—Very deep pink flowers of medium size, in large trusses of from seventy to eighty flowers in each.

Lady Sheffield.—A peculiar shade of colour, described in the catalogue as a violet purple, but commonly termed pink; the flower truss is very large.

Mrs. Strutt.—This has very large flowers of pale pink, is of stout and compact growth, and very free flowering.

Mrs. Parker.—This is a remarkable variety, with large green leaves having a broad white margin. The flowers are double, of a light, delicate, yet most pleasing shade of pink; the trusses are of medium size, are freely produced, and blend charmingly with the foliage.

Dr. Denny is distinct by having purplish flowers with a bold scarlet blotch at the base of the upper petals.

Hettie.—A large truss of somewhat small flowers of a soft rosy scarlet, very freely produced.

Candidissima plenum.—An excellent variety with pure white double flowers, which proves very useful both for pot plants and cut flowers.

Wonderful.—A bright orange scarlet, with semi double flowers and small trusses; very attractive and useful.

Jewel.—This old and well-known variety has proved so extremely useful to me this year, both for plants in pots and cut flowers, that it must have a place. As the plants gain age and size they become crowded with the pretty little trusses that are rich in colour and neat and compact in form. The cut flowers are most useful for a variety of purposes; they pack closely, travel well, and keep fresh for a long time. The plants had liquid manure regularly after the first flowers appeared, and they were certainly much benefited by it, for the abundant flowers were remarkably handsome.—E. LUCKHURST.

JUDGING COTTAGE GARDENS AND THEIR PRODUCE.

From time to time in these pages I have tried to draw the attention of gardeners and other interested persons to the want of some definite rules for the guidance of both judges and exhibitors, and it is with pleasure that I notice the editorial remark about a few general rules. I would go far more than this: I would have the rules specific and definite. They are already too few and too general, without being at all binding or calling for close observation or adherence; in fact, instead of any binding rule, judges are, in a measure, left to their own whim and caprice, thus placing the exhibitor entirely at the mercy of the local dignitary in the gardening world or the parish priest; not that I would not willingly place myself in the hands of either of the gentlemen named, as far as honour or integrity is concerned, but for the simple reason that they are not bound by any specific rules of guidance, their prejudices in favour of this or that particular "fad" guide or misguide them, and we are told that "Prejudice smites when it looks,

and lies when it speaks." A "Reader's" question came at an opportune moment for us in this north country, where we are just entering upon the flower show campaign, and the remarks that it is hoped will be elicited will be read with interest.

Respecting the first portion of "Reader's" question, I am decidedly in favour of the "well-stocked and nicely managed kitchen garden." In this utilitarian age, when our leading politicians and public orators are impressing upon our minds that the number of the population is continually pressing against the verge of existence, how can we get away from the fact that to the cottager or the artisan his garden should be a source of profit? I do not by any means despise the flower garden of the cottager; on the contrary, I would encourage him by awarding prizes for that also, but there cannot be any degree of comparison set up between the two. It ought not to be thought of, and the judge who would pass a good kitchen by in favour of a flower garden, however good, which both belong to cottagers, would, in the opinion of the writer, commit a gross error.

The easiest and the safest solution of the "collection" difficulty would be to name the number and the varieties of articles to be exhibited. This applies to the large as well as small shows. Nothing that I know of causes so much dissatisfaction at flower shows as the "collections" either of fruit or vegetables. At a local show a splendid collection of vegetables was disqualified because it contained a dish of Tomatoes. The winning collection had in it two Cucumbers. In one lot the Tomato was called a fruit, in the other Cucumber was allowed to be a vegetable. Definite rules would prevent all this; simplicity and perspicuity in the wording of the rules and the prize list would obviate many difficulties; all ambiguous words and sentences should be eliminated, and nothing left that could be construed into anything else than what it was really meant for. The parish priest would be of great service here, and would, by use of vigorous Anglo-Saxon, so simplify the local schedule that grumbling would soon be an unheard-of quantity. Nothing tends so much to accentuate the acerbities of exhibiting as the ambiguity of some of the flower show schedules. Indefinite terms like "collection," "dish," "basket," and many others, only create confusion and bring about differences. Lay down some good and safe definite rule to be universally applied and followed; let it be done by some competent authority, and then, once for all, we shall have the question of exhibiting and judging put upon a sound basis. The Royal Horticultural Society ought to do this. If it will not, or cannot, it still ought not to be difficult to formulate a set of good and efficient rules for the guidance of both interested parties; at any rate, the scheme is worth a trial.—FREDERICK PEARSON, *Mere Hall, Monk Winton.*

I HAVE long been convinced that in districts where cottage garden shows are held a marked improvement has been effected both in the appearance of the gardens generally, and also in the quality and quantity of the vegetables grown. Whether the chance of winning a small sum, or the rivalry, not always very friendly, existing, are the all-powerful factors in the matter, is immaterial, the result is highly satisfactory. Men who take great interest in their gardens deserve encouragement, as such are seldom to be found wasting the hours of daylight, at any rate in a beer-house. Judging their handiwork, however, I am not fond of. It is really an unthankful task, especially when the society for whom the judges are acting is niggardly with prizes, particularly with regard to the number offered. All cannot have prizes, but many more deserve them who do not get them.

In many cases the societies comprise a large district, and the last time I assisted to judge we had to go through fourteen parishes. In such cases, if funds are available, prizes should be offered in each parish, and a champion class may well be provided. It is scarcely possible to fairly judge many gardens without some agreement at the outset among the judges acting, or by directions from the committee as to the number of points to be given. For my part, I would not interfere with the liberty of the subject. Every man ought to be allowed to grow what best suits himself, whether it be Cauliflowers, Celery, or Red Cabbage. If it does not pay them to grow such we may safely trust them to discontinue their culture. For vegetables of all kinds, if very good all round, I would give a maximum of three points, if fairly good two points, and one point for a serviceable crop. I would take into consideration the extent of each crop, and not give the highest number of points to a few overgrown or unduly favoured specimens. Encourage them to grow a proportionate number of each serviceable vegetable, and this will, of a certainty, result in superior culture and double cropping.

After taking the crops singly, their proportionate arrangement, the cleanliness of the garden as well as the fruit trees

19B. The *Journal of Horticulture* was a re-launch of the *Cottage Gardener* in a larger format.

THE INDOOR GARDEN.

CYCADS.

Many valuable additions of late have been made to this class of plants; prominent among them are *Encephalartos villosus* and *E. Ghellinckii* (or *gracilis*), from Natal; *Macrozamia Dennisonii* and *M. Frazerii*, from Australia. But the most interesting, and perhaps the most beautiful, is *Bowenia spectabilis*, from North Queensland. This is a stemless plant, and does not confine itself to one point of development, but forms several crowns, from which it throws up single fronds that develop like an umbrella, or similar to the curious *Amorphophallus* and *Godwinia*; the leaflets are rhomboid; it is fond of heat and moisture, and might be used by way of change as a plant for table decoration. The best Cycads adapted for general decoration are the tail-growing, such as that represented in the accompanying woodcut. This kind (*Cycas circinalis*), is a native of the East Indies, and is one of the finest of the genus, attaining a height of from ten to twelve feet, and furnished

*Cycas circinalis.*

with a noble head of fronds, of a dark shining green above and of a paler colour beneath. As a dwarf plant for pedestals or vases, *C. revoluta* is good. It will stand more cold than any other Cycad. *C. Rumphii* is another East Indian species allied to, if not the same as *C. circinalis*.

Among *Ceratozamia*s, *C. mexicana* is a fine plant, when it can be set on a tall pedestal, where its fronds, which grow from six to eight feet in length, can hang down gracefully. *C. Miqueliana* is more erect than the last, and is also a fine Cycad. A plant has made its appearance lately under the name of *C. Kusteriana*, but it is very like, if not the same as, *C. Miqueliana*. The *Ceratozamia*s are all Mexican.

*Zamia*s proper are West Indian and Tropical American plants; they are dwarf in habit, and do not form much stem; the only species worth cultivation as an ornamental plant is

Z. Skinneri, which I consider to be the grandest of all Cycads. *Encephalartos* is an African genus which contains some of the noblest of plants. *E. Caffra* (the Caffer's Bread) is a giant which grows from ten to sixteen feet in height, and spreads from twelve to fourteen feet in width; its foliage is dark green, spineless, very dense and stiff; a very distinct plant. *E. Altensteinii* is of a deep green, more erect than the last, and has a few spines on the margins, and one at the point of the leaflets. *E. lanuginosus* is similar to it, but has more wool at the base of the leaflets, and is spineless; both very fine plants. *E. villosus* has many spines on the pinnae, is more erect in habit, and very woolly at the base of the fronds; a noble decorative plant for warm conservatories. *E. Lehmannii* is a smaller plant, with spineless glaucous fronds; useful for variety, and in small houses. *E. horridus* is a moderately vigorous grower, the fronds of which are glaucous; but, being very spiny, it is unsuitable for general purposes. *E. Ghellinckii* or *gracilis*, a recent introduction of Mr. Bull's, is an erect grower, with narrow villose leaflets, almost snow white; it is a moderate grower, and is an extremely elegant plant. *E. cycadifolius* resembles this species, but its leaves are broader, and not quite so white. *Dion edule*, a native of Mexico, is an erect growing plant, very symmetrical, glaucous, and slightly woolly; it grows moderately large, and ranks among those plants of the first class. Of the Australian *Macrozamia*s, *M. Dennisonii* (*Catakidazamia Hopii*) is the best. It is a strong grower, with spreading, bronze-green fronds; this is a plant which will stand greenhouse treatment. *M. Frazerii* is an elegant, bright green foliaged plant, the fronds of which are from two to three feet long, and recurved; the stem is very thick, oftentimes, indeed, as thick as the plant is high. Young plants of it are found to be very useful for vases. *Stangeria paradoxa*, a native of South Africa, must be regarded only as a curiosity. It is closely related to *Encephalartos* in structural characters, but differs remarkably in habit and foliage. It has a stout fleshy stem or trunk, which seems to possess but little power of growth. These are a few of the best for general decorative purposes; but for those who only want two or three for conservatory ornamentation, I would recommend *Encephalartos villosus*, or *Altensteinii*, *Cycas circinalis*, and *Macrozamia Frazerii*. For stove decoration *Cycas circinalis*, *Dion edule*, and *Ceratozamia Miqueliana*, stand in the first rank.

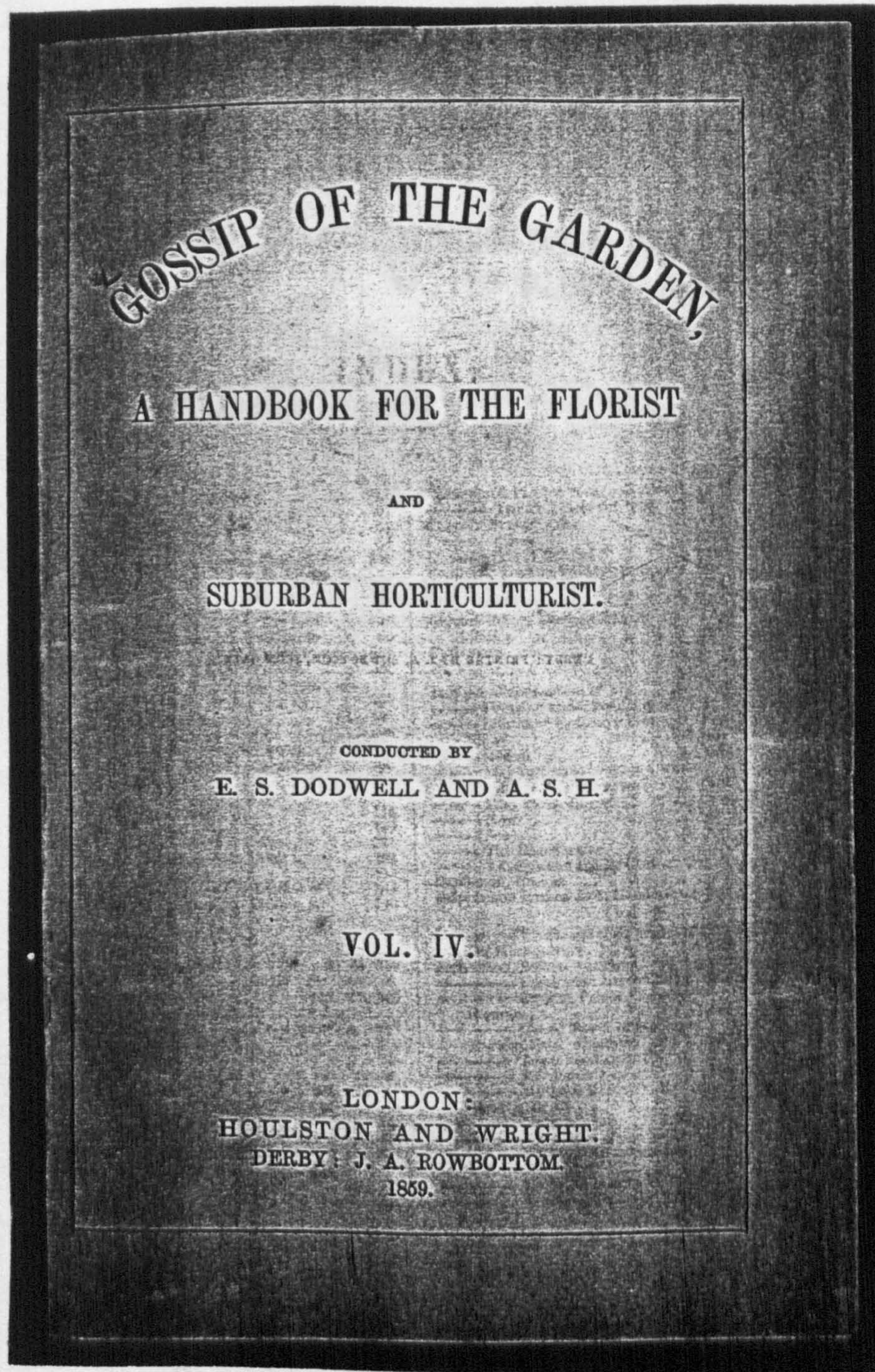
The best soil for them is a mixture of good loam and sand, and they should be potted firmly; when pot-bound a little manure-water will be of benefit to them. If a plant gets out of health it should be cleared of its soil, all dead roots should be cut off, and it should be put into a small pot in poor soil, set on a good bottom heat, and kept moderately dry. When Cycads are developing their fronds they should not be moved, if that can be avoided, as in moving them the young fronds often receive a twist from which they seldom recover. When in full growth they should be watered freely, but when at rest it is best to keep them moderately dry. When a seaweed-like growth forms just under and on the top of the soil in which these plants grow, it is a sure sign of health, and should not be disturbed; when this is absent it is a sign that the plant is not vigorous at the roots, and that care is required in watering it. Cycads, like Palms and Tree Ferns, belong to the aristocracy of the vegetable kingdom, and deserve more attention than they generally get from cultivators. J. CROUCHER.

TRICHINIUM MANGLESII.

BY W. THOMPSON, HSWICH.

As the introducer of this pretty *Amaranth*, perhaps you will allow me to reply to your correspondent "W.'s" enquiry respecting its management. As far as my experience goes, the secret of successful treatment consists in keeping up a succession of young plants. After once or twice flowering, it is rare to see a plant maintain a presentable appearance. The foliage produced the second season is always narrower and weaker than that on plants which have not yet bloomed, and the removal of the dead flower-stems, which all spring from the crown, often gives the plant a scraggy look. I know not what may have been effected by more skilful cultivators, but in my hands the only satisfactory mode of propagation

20. The Garden put forward William Robinson's views on gardening, presented in a new way.



22. *Gossip of the Garden* was aimed at florists and amateurs. Its small size made it easy to carry in the pocket for reading during a break in work.



FINGER-POST FOR PURCHASERS OF PLANTS, SEEDS, ETC.

A SELECTION OF BROCCOLI FOR GARDEN CULTURE.

Purple Cape, Grange's 'White, Walcheren, Snow's Winter White, and Purple Sprouting; Cattell's Eclipse. These are enough for all ordinary families; and Walcheren may be sown frequently for succession.

A SELECTION OF VARIETIES OF CABBAGE FOR GARDEN CULTURE.

Atkins's Matchless, small; Dwarf Early York, small and quick; Cattell's Reliance, suitable to sow from March to August, and to cut at all seasons; West Ham, for fields and large gardens; Fearnought, fine for spring use, very hardy; Little Pixie, very early, dwarf and sweet; Sutton's Imperial; Green Curled Savoy—last two fine for autumn sowing; with the London Colewort.

A SELECTION OF CAULIFLOWER FOR GARDEN CULTURE.

Early London may be sown spring and autumn; Large Asiatic comes in late and fine; Lenormand, for autumn sowing only.

Best for forcing.—Frogmore Early and Wellington.

A SELECTION OF VARIETIES OF CELERY FOR GARDEN CULTURE.

The best flavoured are the red kinds, of which Hood's Imperial, and Manchester Champion are the best. The best flavoured white is Sandringham; best for production, Northumberland Champion.

A SELECTION OF VARIETIES OF CUCUMBER FOR GARDEN CULTURE.

For frames and houses for summer use.—Dr. Livingstone, Empress Eugenie, Kirklees Hall Defiance, Star of the West.

For open ground.—Henderson's A 1 Ridge, and common Gherkin for pickling.

For winter fruiting.—Rollisson's Telegraph, the best of all for winter, and first-rate in every season; Highland Mary, Kenyon's Favourite.

A SELECTION OF VARIETIES OF LETTUCE FOR GARDEN CULTURE.

Best Cabbage Lettuces.—Early White Spring, White Tennis Ball, Stone Tennis, Neapolitan, Stonehead Frame, Crisp German.

Best Cos Lettuces.—Florence, Paris.

Varieties especially adapted for hot climates and dry soils.—Batavian Brown Cabbage, Blood Red Cabbage, Coquille.

Varieties lasting longest after attaining perfection.—Berlin White, Brunzul, Crisp German, Brumhead, Early White Spring, Large Red Cabbage, Neapolitan, Normandy, Royal White Summer, Spotted Red Cabbage, Stonehead Frame, Spotted White Cabbage, Florence Cos, Red Cos.

A SELECTION OF VARIETIES OF ONIONS FOR GARDEN CULTURE.

For early use and pickling.—Silver Skin and Early Nocera.

For general crop.—Nuneham Park, Reading, and James's Keeping.

BEST VARIETIES OF TURNIPS FOR GARDEN CULTURE.

Early Dutch, Veitch's Red Topped Stone, Nonsuch.

The best for sowing in autumn are Jersey Navet and Orange Jelly.

23A. 'Fingerposts' was introduced into the *Floral World* to help 'point' readers in the right direction when it came to choosing varieties of plants, as well as equipment and garden accessories.

23B. (next page). The *Floral World* was designed to appeal to amateurs.

THE FLORAL WORLD

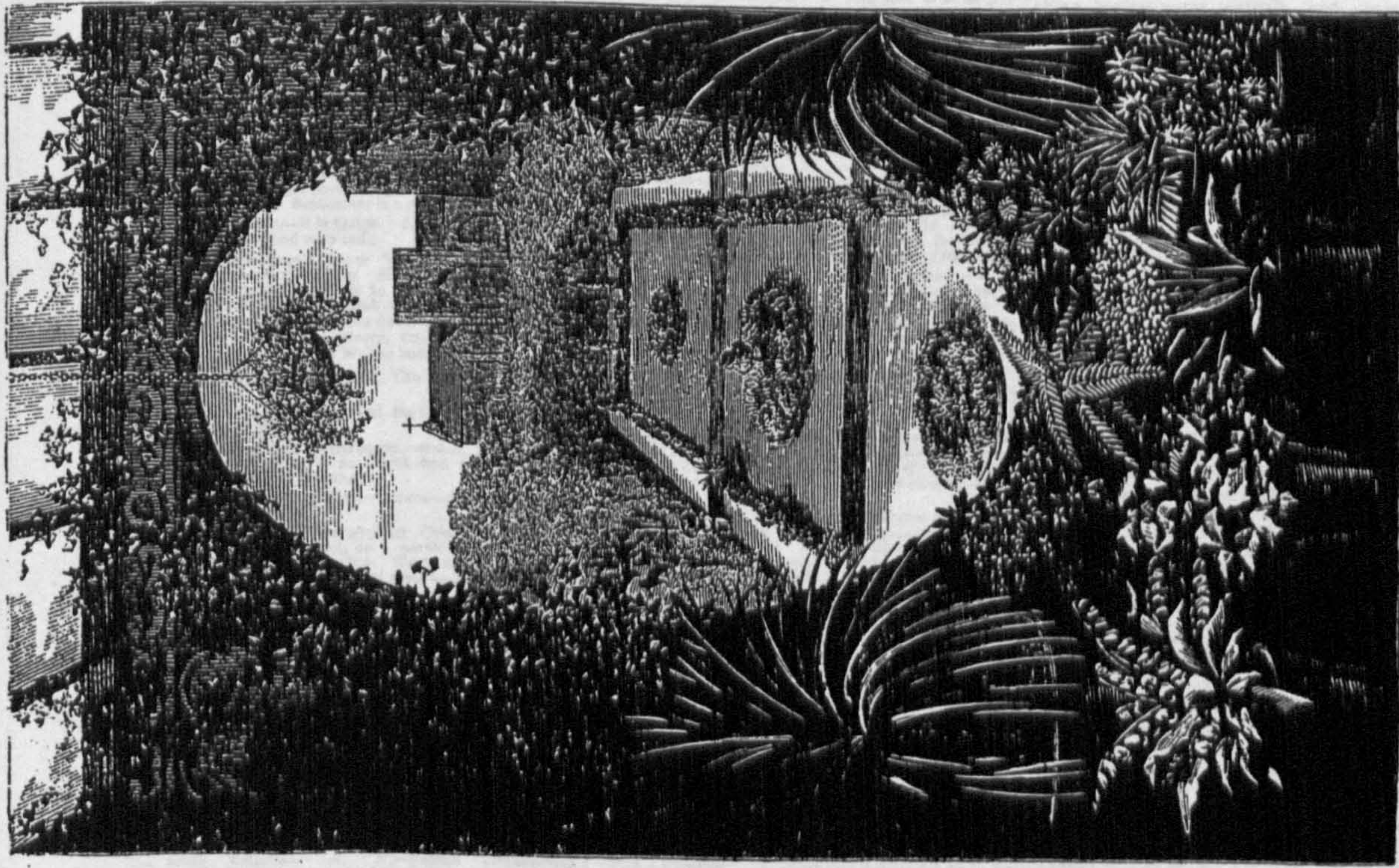
AND

GARDEN GUIDE.

MAY, 1868.

A BEAUTIFUL TOWN GARDEN.

IN the FLORAL WORLD of December, 1866, a plan and description of the elegant garden of James Crute, Esq., of Holloway, were presented to our readers. The example now to be considered forms what may be termed a companion to Mr. Crute's, though in a quite different style, but because of the completeness and unity of the scene produced, and the similarly limited area of operations. On the opposite page is a representation, admirably drawn by Mr. Damman, yet falling far short of the beauty of the reality, of the garden of F. T. Hay, Esq., New Cross Road, near London. It is the more worthy to be represented, because both house and garden are like thousands of others in respect of situation and dimensions in the suburbs of London and all great towns, a substantial villa residence with small plot of ground in the rear, and on every hand a contracted prospect of similarly restricted gardens bounded by an horizon of bricks. With the most commonplace site and materials, Mr. Hay has produced a charming scene, and moreover has made it accessory to the residence, in a quite novel and pleasing manner, as will be clearly understood, we hope, by a brief description. But before describing the garden, it will be proper to say that in the rear of the residence there are a few glass structures, eminently attractive in appearance and ingenious in design. One of these is a small conservatory, opening from a cosy smoking-room. The guest may here sit beside the fire and look direct into a covered garden, furnished with camellias, dracenas, and other noble forms of vegetation. When the length of the conservatory has been traversed, we turn to the left, and *look down* into the midst of a charming fernery, which is constructed at a lower level than the conservatory, in the character somewhat of a cave, and the effect of a luxuriant vegetation of ferns and lycopodiums seen from above is at once novel and delightful. We are so accustomed to look up, and while suffering pain in the neck, see more of the pots than the plants, that to look down into a dell all mossy, green, and dank, overarched with the fronds of Wood-



PLANT-HOUSE AND GARDEN VIEW AT THE RESIDENCE OF F. T. HAY, ESQ.,
NEW CROSS.

5100. — Building Cucumber House. — If a lean-to, 8 ft. will be a sufficient width, though 9 ft. or 10 ft. would be none too wide. If a span, with bed down each side, nothing less than 10 ft., and we should say make it 12 ft. or even more if possible. As to pitch, both extremes are bad, either for lean-to or span; for the latter a slope of anything from 35° to 45° would be suitable, but for the former a few degrees flatter or steeper would not be objectionable. For Cucumber growing especially a sunk house is, on the whole, preferable, particularly in the summer season, as it does not get so dry as a raised structure. B. C. R.

5557. — Insects in Garden. — F. N. O. — If you give the soil a good dressing with salt, soot, and lime, and lay it up roughly for the winter, you will no doubt get rid of many of the insects.

5558. — Preserving Berries for Winter. — C. F. H. — We do not know what berries you allude to. If you send us a branch of the tree with berries attached we may be able to advise you.

5559. — William Webster. — You mean Hoya. It requires a warm greenhouse.

5560. — E. A. K. — Try Messrs. Wm. Paul & Sons, Waltham Cross, Herts.

5561. — S. V. — We should plant the Vine in the plant house rather than the forcing house. Wall as much space off as you can for the Vine to grow in. Turfy loam and broken bones will make the best compost.

5562. — Begonia Froebel. — May bulbs of this Begonia be left in the ground during the winter? or must they be taken up, and raised in the hot bed each year? — S. C. N. [The best way is to take the plants up in autumn and pot them, and if they are put in a window or greenhouse they will flower for some time. When the leaves die down keep the roots rather dry, and store them away in any cool place from which frost is excluded. In spring introduce them to a greenhouse or vivarium, and give them a little water, and they will start into growth. Plant them out when there is no danger from frost. If your garden is well drained a coat of ashes 3 in. thick over the roots would probably be enough to protect them through the winter if the other plan is too troublesome.]

5563. — R. T. Harting. — At any good Rose nursery.

5564. — H. Nesty. — This is a hardy biennial. Sow now or in spring. Succeeds in any common garden soil.

5565. — Gloxinias in Greenhouse. — A. K. — An ordinary greenhouse is not hot enough to grow Gloxinias successfully.

5566. — Black Muscat Vine. — Is Mrs. Place's Black Muscat a good Vine to put in a cool greenhouse? Will it ripen well without any artificial heat? — A. K. [No. It is a long time in ripening, and wants heat in spring and autumn at least.]

5567. — Sowing Seeds of Hardy Plants. — F. Whitaker. — The seeds of Columbine, Scarlet Lychnis, and Everlasting Peas may be sown now with success.

5568. — Pansies. — F. V. H. — Cuttings of these will strike freely at this time of year. An article as to soil, &c., was given in last week's GARDENING.

5569. — Hollyhocks. — F. V. H. — You may sow the seed in a pan in a frame now.

5570. — Turfing a Lawn. — T. T. — A piece of ground 6 yds. square should not cost much to turf down. All depends on the facilities you have for getting the turf. When you have got that, a day's work is all you have to add to the cost. September is a good time to do it.

5571. — Treaser. — It is thrips. Sponge the leaves with tobacco-water and soap-suds.

5572. — Making a New Vine Border. — G. O. — Dig out the soil 2 ft. deep. Slope it towards the front, and put in a common drain to carry the water off. Put 6 in. or more of brick rubbish over the bottom, and then a layer of soda, Grass sode downwards. Then fill up with turf chopped to pieces, mixing with it a liberal supply of old mortar or broken bones.

5573. — H. R. — Mr. Canham, The Nurseries, Swanley, Kent.

5574. — Grape Vine. — Put the Golden Hamburgh in the warmest place.

5575. — Forcing Rhubarb. — Green. It is far too early yet. You will no doubt find articles on the subject in GARDENING shortly.

5576. — Quassia Chips. — Nemo. — 4 oz. to the gallon of water.

5577. — Veitch's Virginian Creeper. — Sunny. This will grow perfectly on a north wall. It may be planted in autumn or spring. We do not know the cost, but it can now be had in most good nurseries.

5578. — John Clark. — See our advertisement columns.

Names of Plants. — Newcastle. — Passiflora carulea. — W. Howard. Gaffardiana aristata maxima; Campanula fragilis; — Prick. — 1. Filago species; 2. Polygala vulgaris; 3. Lithospermum sp.; 4. Origanum vulgare. — C. B. (Wycliffe Villa). — A. Diplacus glutinosus; B. Coronilla glauca; D. Solanum Capiteastrum; send better specimens of others. — S. Cole. — Passiflora carulea. — Enquiry. — Apparently Devonshire Quarrendon. — F. Whitaker. — 1. apparently Oreus Monedictus; 2. Blessed Thistle, but you should have sent a flower; 3. Artemisia species; 4. Dodder growing on Heath. — S. de Jersey. — Lygodium scandens, kind of Orange. — T. L. — 1. Homocaulis fulva; 2. Lysimachia vulgaris; 3. Sedum oppositifolium; 4. Dianthus chinensis. — F. M. — Diplacus glutinosus. — J. Hinch. — Onychium japonicum. — A. R. K. — Andromeda Calceol. — A. M. — Datura Stramonium. — W. H. Young. — 2. Cestrum Cymum. — J. J.

Dropwort (Salvia bipendula). — C. J. — 1. Callixens polyphylla; 2. Hemanthus carneus. — J. R. D. — 1. apparently Sedum album; 2. Campanula persicifolia alba. — Pl. — 1. Altea — 1. Cerastia radica (Bird Cherry); 2. This euphorbia (Lion). — C. R. K. — Lobelia cardinalis. — Ulsterman. — French Lavender (Santolina incana). — M. A. G. — Corollia varia.

QUERIES.

Rules for Correspondents. — All communications for insertion should be clearly and concisely written on one side of the paper only and addressed to the EDITOR. Letters relating to business to the PUBLISHER. The name and address of the sender is required, in addition, to any name do please to be used in the paper. Answers to Queries should always bear the number and title of the query answered. In consequence of the large circulation of GARDENING ILLUSTRATED, it is necessary to go to Press a long time before its publication. Therefore, readers will see the impossibility of inserting their questions the week they are received, and they would greatly help us by sending them as early as possible in the preceding week.

NAMING PLANTS. — Four plants, fruits, or flowers only can be named at one time, and this only when good specimens are sent.

To the Trade. — Nurserymen are requested to send copies of their catalogues to us as soon as published.

Plants for Shady Banks. — Will anyone who has had experience of shady banks with good soil recommend some showy hardy flower suitable for such places, with special reference to planting in the autumn? — GARDENING.

Hydrangeas not Blooming. — I cannot get my Hydrangeas to bloom properly; they have showed promise of good trusses of bloom, but, without exception, they have failed to open more than three or four flowers in each truss. Can any reader suggest the cause and remedy? Also I want to know how the plants must be treated after the blooming season, as I find there are various opinions on the subject. — WAWROCK.

Manuring Lilies. — I have two clumps of Lilium lancifolium rubrum in my garden which have not been disturbed for five or six years, only covered in the winter with 2 in. of litter. They have grown finer and larger, and flowered better every year till this year, and they are now smaller and poorer. I take it the soil is exhausted. When should I take the bulbs up to trench and manure the ground, and should I pot them in again immediately after doing so? — SUMMERSIDE.

Turning an Area into a Greenhouse. — I have an area 10 ft. by 4 ft. and 6 ft. deep, the only entrance to which is through a window in the cellar. Can I, by putting a glass frame over this, winter Geraniums &c. and which would be the best method of heating, and kinds of heating appliances? As the gas meter is close by, and the pipes would not have to go out of doors, would gas answer? — ARRA.

Spent Bark. — Will "C. F." kindly say where the well-rotted spent bark he mentions is to be procured? — GARDENING.

Propagating Bignonia. — Can anyone inform me how I can propagate Bignonia radicans major? I have tried slips many times, but can never succeed. — A. K.

Asparagus Growing Weaker. — I have a large Asparagus bed. The first two years it was very fine, last year and this it has thrown up a large quantity of small. Since I left off cutting, it has thrown up from twenty to thirty shoots from a crown, but poor weak plants, not much thicker than a common lead pencil. Where there is only three or four stems they are fine and strong. In gathering Asparagus it is advisable to cut the heads or break them from the crown by pulling them up; I left off cutting the first week in July, but as our season is at least a month later here than in the south, would it not do to cut later? — G. O. Liverpool.

Crown Imperial not Blooming. — What is the probable cause of a golden striped Crown Imperial not having bloomed for the last two seasons? I have had it three years. The first year it bloomed, but not since. The foliage is good each season. Two stems almost equally handsome came up this year. — Miss N.

Preserving Plants in Winter. — I have become infatuated with plants and flowers through reading GARDENING ILLUSTRATED, and have constructed a small greenhouse in my backyard (in the midst of a large town) 5 ft. square. I have a nice supply of Geraniums, Fuchsias, &c. that are in excellent condition now. Can I preserve them through the winter without artificial heat? A few hints will greatly oblige. — LENOX.

Uses of a Frame in Autumn. — I am at a loss to know what use to put my Cucumber frame to when the season is over. I should like to raise a few plants for the windows during winter. What would do best, or what other use might I make of the frame? — A. T.

Earwigs in Fernery. — Earwigs seem to be eating the young fronds of Ferns in my greenhouse. I cannot detect any other enemy. Is there any good trap or other remedy? — G. D.

Lilies for Pot Culture. — Which are the best twelve Lilies for pot culture? also when is the best time to purchase and plant them, and what sized pots are best for the purpose? — J. F. G.

Dogs Destroying Trees. — Is there any way of keeping dogs from destroying the lower branches of ornamental trees and shrubs? Could anything be applied to keep them off? — ST. HELENA.

Uses of Gourds. — I have this year grown several Gourds (large hundred-weight), but I do not know to what use to put them. Any information as to how they may be used will be kindly received. — FUNKIN.

Flowers in Succession. — Can any one suggest what to plant in a small border in my green-

house so as to keep a succession of bloom during the autumn and winter months? Four climbing Roses are put there. — ST. HELENA.

Vegetable Marrows. — What is the reason why a Vegetable Marrow plant should stand very stumpy and not send out shoots? It is on a good manure bed with others, which are doing well, but this one is very stumpy. It has fruit and flowers on, but cannot get them out because of being so cramped. The stems to the leaves are in some cases nearly 1 in. in diameter. — EORACUM.

MR. HIBBERD.

I HAVE received a letter from Mr. Hibberd's publishers, or rather their legal advisers, in which they ask "what steps I propose to take to remedy the prejudicial effect" presumably of what appeared in those columns as regards the circulation of GARDENING a few weeks ago. But the statement is true, and within the mark. They so often advertise the fact that their magazine has now the

LARGEST CIRCULATION OF ANY HORTICULTURAL JOURNAL, that the publication of the truth has, it appears, a "prejudicial effect." Even the public must know, as well as those who have the proofs, that for every copy of their magazine sold, or any other on horticulture that now exists, there are seven of GARDENING.

It is with these papers, compared to GARDENING, not a question of more or less, but of pignies against a giant, as regards the question referred to in the above modest advertisement, which is out from a recent issue of Messrs. Collingridge's paper.

It is Mr. Hibberd who, in it, has introduced the personal element into horticultural journalism. Many instances could be given of offensive and silly personalities of his—aimless, too, so far as the public are concerned. Poor Andrew Murray, secretary at the time of the Horticultural Society, was spoken of as the "whitely-brown" man by Mr. Hibberd, who proposed to erect a statue of mud to Mr. Murray at South Kensington. He published a caricature portrait of Mr. David Thomson, of Drumlanrig, in one of his Christmas numbers, with various offensive depreciatory and would-be satirical allusions. Then, before the appearance of THE GARDEN and GARDENING established that loving harmony among the editors of the other horticultural journals, and centred all their ire in a new direction, Doctor Hogg and his academical honours were a subject of satirical comment. It appears his LL.D. is not of British, but of American origin, and where it came from was considered a fair subject for enquiry. Passing without question the right or the taste of such a course in a public journal, it is odd to see Mr. Hibberd figuring as an injured innocent among his "fellow sufferers." In the very same issue of his paper which appears on this day the lawyer's letter comes from his publishers, he prints a string of offensive terms, calls, names, but proves nothing—his usual custom!

Truth should not be violated by an editor, above all persons. His duty is not to himself alone. Mr. Hibberd's statement that the prizes were given to encourage "white" Asparagus was absolutely untrue. He also stated repeatedly that the best lots (and all, save one) at Tunbridge Wells were green, whereas they were blanched to the same degree as Asparagus is in Paris, or in market gardens round London, and to a greater extent than the Asparagus that comes from Dijon, Versailles, or Toulouse. It is not a question here of right or wrong, but of fact, and of the printing of falsehood. A more misleading statement was never made. Here is the proof, from the market gardener who won the first prize for the best three bunches of 100 heads each:—

Coldchaster, July 25, 1881.

DEAR SIR, — In answer to your note, I beg to say my best beds have from 10 in. to 12 in. of earth on them. The only difference I make with such heads as I took to Tunbridge Wells is that so soon as a good head appears above the surface, I gather the loose soil round and over it, and gain 1 in. or 2 in. more. It is, in fact, blanched 1 in. high. — Yours obediently,

A. HARWOOD.

Mr. Hibberd now introduces another element into horticultural journalism—that of nationality, and for this and the personal abuse and caricature business he may well claim originality. With fine unctious he remarks "I can only remember that it is the privilege of an Englishman, which I thank God I am!" It would

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The place of publication is London unless otherwise stated.

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<i>The Botanical Cabinet</i>	Lindley Library
<i>The Cottage Gardener</i>	Lindley Library
<i>Country Life</i>	Westminster Public Library
<i>Curtis's Botanical Magazine</i>	Lindley Library
<i>The Floral Cabinet</i>	Lindley Library
<i>The Floral Magazine</i>	Lindley Library
<i>The Floral World and Garden Guide</i>	Lindley Library
<i>The Floricultural Cabinet and Florists' Magazine</i>	Lindley Library
<i>The Florist (and Pomologist)</i>	Lindley Library
<i>The Florist's Journal</i>	Lindley Library
<i>The Garden</i>	Lindley Library
<i>The Garden and Horticultural Sales and Wants Advertiser</i>	Colindale Newspaper Library
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